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Political Affairs

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Soviet Union

Political Affairs

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BSSR Increases Afgan Vet Pensions

18000947 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
in Russian 29 Apr 89 p 3

[Report by V. Mikhaylova: "Pensions for 'Afgan Vets'"]

[Text] Minsk—Four hundred and thirty-four "Afghan vets," internationalist soldiers who have become invalids in the war in Afghanistan, will from now on receive a pension of not 40, but 150 rubles. The republic-wide decree establishing personal pensions for them was issued by the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

This decree is one of the points of a program directed at improving the social and living conditions of our reserve of soldiers who have fought in the "undeclared" war.

However, our internationalists are unfortunately not always shown consideration. From time to time they must fight battles at home, with the bureaucrats and red-tapists. The "Afghan vets" have written letters and complaints to the republic's party committees. In order to more fully understand their needs and discuss their most urgent problems, the Belorussian CP Central Committee held a meeting with the internationalist soldiers. The result of the discussion was this special decree.

It was recommended that the executive committees of the local soviets create a commission to conduct a thorough inquiry into the veterans' living conditions and into whether or not they and the families of those killed are receiving benefits. The executive committees are also commissioned to secure a separate apartment or home by the end of the five-year plan for all invalids and families of internationalist soldiers killed in the war. It has been suggested that the trade union committees and councils of workers' collectives make collective agreements on seeing to the placement of "Afghan vets" on registration lists for apartments. In addition, veterans have the right to ride public transportation in cities and villages without a ticket and to be given top priority for telephone installation. And children whose fathers did not return from the war in Afghanistan will attend pre-schools and boarding schools at no cost. They will also receive allowances of no less than 60 rubles per month as well as a 50 percent discount on medicines.

KaSSR Publishes Procedures for Forming 'Un-sponsored Associations'

18001101 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 16 Apr 89 p 1

[Ukase of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the Procedures Governing the Formation and Functioning of Independent Public Associations, issued 14 April 1989, signed by Chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium M.Sagkiyev and Secretary of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium S.Nupreisov]

[Text] In the question of further development of democracy and full implementation of popular self-government, the role of public entities, such as unsponsored

public associations whose goal it is to promote sociopolitical, social and creative activities of citizens, satisfy their diverse interests and spiritual needs and carry out socially useful activities, is increasing.

To put the formation and activities of such organizations on a more orderly basis, the Presidium of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet thereby decrees:

1. Independent public associations of citizens may be based at cultural or sports organizations, after-school organizations, homes and palaces of youth, libraries, schools, housing committees, trade union and komsomol committees, branches of professional unions and other state and public bodies and organizations, or formed independently.

Associations may be formed on the initiative of the organizations listed in the first part of this article, or by groups of citizens of legal age numbering at least 10 members.

2. Meetings of citizens wishing to participate in the work of independent public associations are called by founders of those associations. The meetings approve statutes, or programs, of such associations and elect their leadership bodies.

3. An independent public association is considered formed on the date it is registered by the ispolkom of the appropriate local soviet of the people's deputies.

4. The following documents must be submitted to the ispolkom of the local soviet:

the record of the meeting of citizens wishing to participate in the work of the association, listing the total number of such citizens and the makeup of the leadership body, and

the statute, or program, of the association approved by the meeting.

Subsequent changes in the statute, or program, or the in the leadership body approved by the meeting of the association must be submitted to the ispolkom of the local soviet where the association is registered.

5. The decision on the association's registration must be made no later than two months from the date when the documents listed in Article 4 of the present ukase are submitted to the ispolkom of the local soviet.

A representative of the association must be present when the issue is decided.

6. The ispolkom of the local soviet where the association is registered and the entity where the association is based should give support to the association and provide necessary assistance to it.

7. Registration may be refused to an association if its goals listed in its statute, or program, contradict the requirements of the USSR Constitution, the Kazakh SSR Constitution, the present ukase or other legislative acts of the USSR or the Kazakh SSR.

The decision to refuse registration must be motivated and sent to the leadership body of the association within three days.

The activity of an independent public association may be terminated for the following reasons:

on the decision of its meeting;

on the decision of the ispolkom of the local soviet where the association is registered if its activity contradicts the USSR Constitution, the Kazakh SSR Constitution, the present ukase, other legislative acts of the USSR and the Kazakh SSR, goals of the association itself or its own statute, or program, or

if the entity where the association is based is liquidated.

9. The decision to deny registration may be appealed to the ispolkom of a superior soviet or to the court within one month.

10. Independent public associations must function strictly within the law. Violations of established procedures for forming such associations and their activity will be prosecuted in accordance with the USSR and Kazakh SSR law.

11. Control over the association's adherence to the law and its own statute, or program, is the responsibility of the ispolkom of the local soviet where the association is registered and of the entity where it is based.

12. Associations formed before the present ukase came into force must be registered within one month after the ukase comes into force.

13. The present ukase comes into force on the day of its publication.

KiSSR Council of Ministers Discusses 1988 Socio-Economic Development

18300390a Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA
in Russian 3 Feb 89 p 1

[KirTAG report: "In the Standing Commissions of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] On 10 February joint assizes of the Health Care and Social Welfare Commission and the Industry Commission of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet, as well as the Republic Sector Committee of the Trade Union of

Workers in Local Industry and Public Service Enterprises, were held at the Kyyl Association of Folk Craft Producers under the chairmanship of deputies M.M. Mirrakhimov and M.M. Aybalaye.

The deputies first learned about the living and working conditions at the Ak-Tilek Production Association, at a glass factory and at the Kyyl Association of Folk Craft Producers. Meetings and conversations took place with workers from these enterprises.

Consideration was given to the work of the Kirghiz SSR Ministry of Local Industry with regard to improving the health of sector workers and the working conditions at enterprises. The republic's minister of local industry, K.A. Abdrayev, gave a report at the session, as did Yu. Prilepin, leader of the deputy's preparatory group, concerning the results of an on-site inspection and study of the state of affairs.

During the discussion the deputies and representatives of the labor collectives noted that the republic's ministry and local industry enterprises were carrying out work to protect the health and improve the working conditions for employees. At the same time the level of the work being carried out by the republic's Ministry of Local Industry and its enterprises still does not meet the high requirements of perestroika; the sector still does not have the appropriate conditions for highly productive labor and health care for workers.

Enterprises continue to have an extremely low level of sanitary facilities for workers. Many of them have poorly equipped restrooms for women or none at all. Some enterprises lack cafeterias, others fail to provide food for special diets. Attention is not being given to providing first aid rooms with the necessary medical instruments and equipment.

The republic's Ministry of Local Industry and enterprise officials have been slow to resolve questions of how to re-equip work sites and replace worn-out equipment. For this reason a significant amount of the equipment is obsolete; the sector has not provided for the development of scientific and technical progress. This is why production premises are not experiencing a reduction in the level of noise, gas or dust in the air.

The deputies were especially concerned by the observed increase in the cases of traumatism and the illness rate at local industry enterprises in the republic. This is because violations of the work safety rules are permitted, and production units with harmful and difficult production conditions are kept in operation.

The deputies emphasized that the ministry and labor collectives are not carrying out sufficient work on disease prevention among the workers. Complete fulfillment of the sector program entitled "Health," which was scheduled for implementation in the current five-year plan, has not been ensured.

On this question the Health Care and Social Welfare Commission, the Industry Commission and the Republic Committee of the Trade Union of Workers in Local Industry and Public Service Industries adopted detailed recommendations addressed to the republic's Ministry of Local Industry and the enterprises under its jurisdiction; the recommendations are aimed at eliminating the existing inadequacies and at improving working conditions, as well as the health of workers in the sector.

K.B. Gusev, deputy chairman of the Kirghiz SSS Supreme Soviet Presidium, and officials from a number of the republic's ministries and agencies participated in the work of the commissions' assizes.

**KiSSR Supreme Soviet Standing Commission
Examines Workers' Health Issues**
*18300390b Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA
in Russian 14 Feb 89 p 3*

[KirTAG report: "In the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] At its regular session the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers considered the issue of "The Socio-Economic Development of the Kirghiz SSR in 1988 and the First Three Years of the 12th Five-Year Plan."

In opening the session A. Dzhumagulov, chairman of the republic's council of ministers, emphasized that today the most serious attention must be given to formulating measures to eliminate factors which slow up economic reform, to accelerate the resolution of the food problem, to saturate the market with high-quality consumer goods and to fulfill the plans for housing construction.

The session noted that in 1988, in accordance with the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, definite work was carried out to accelerate socio-economic development. In this regard the following have exerted a positive influence: the transition—already started—to primarily economic methods of management; the shift by associations, enterprises and organizations to principles of complete economic accountability and self-financing; and the policy of strengthening the social directedness of the economy.

All of these, as well as other measures, have made it possible to meet the five-year plan targets for the rate of development in the economy during 1988 and the first three years of the five-year plan period. The national income produced in 1988 grew by 5.9 percent, and over the three-year period it increased 11 percent, instead of the 10 percent which was estimated. The increase in industrial output amounted to 6.7 percent, and for 1986 through 1988 it was 13.6 percent, as against 13.3 percent stipulated by the five-year plan. During the three years

labor productivity in industry increased by 11.5 percent (with 9.6 stipulated in the plan), including 7 percent in 1988. The targets for production of consumer goods were exceeded.

Significant attention has been devoted to the resolution of the Food Program. In agriculture the targets for the production and purchase of the basic types of agricultural output (including crop-growing and animal-raising) were exceeded in 1988 and the first three years of the five-year plan. As a result the per capita consumption of meat, milk and other food products has increased.

At the same time there are a number of inadequacies in the development of the republic's economy. The year's plan for sales, taking into account contract obligations for deliveries, was only 99.3 percent fulfilled. The state plan for science and technology throughout the republic was not fulfilled either for 1988 or for the first three years of the five-year plan period. The targets of the republic's program for the introduction of resource-conserving technology, including the utilization of solar-power plants and cinder wastes, have not been met. The republic's kolkhozes and sovkhozes did not fulfill the year plan for the purchase of berries, grapes and other fruits, or the purchase of crops producing essential volatile oils.

In 1988 the work indicators in construction declined. The operational efficiency of automotive transport is not increasing sufficiently. The plan for retail trade turnover in the first three years of the five-year plan period has not been fulfilled.

Attention was also directed to the inadequacies which exist in the development of the cooperative movement and in the operation of the cooperatives themselves.

The Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers made it mandatory for Gosagroprom, Gosstroy, the ministries, agencies, ispolkoms of the soviets of people's deputies and for associations, enterprises and organizations under Union jurisdiction to analyze carefully and comprehensively the results of the economic and financial operations of associations, enterprises and organizations, as well as the state of payment and contract discipline for 1988 and the first three years of the five-year plan, and to carry out measures to mobilize reserves, to close the gap which has been permitted to develop, and to fulfill unconditionally the plan and targets for 1989 and the first four years of the five-year plan period in general.

The government of the republic made it mandatory for the deputy chairmen of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers, and for officials of the soviet ispolkoms, ministries, agencies and enterprises under Union jurisdiction to concentrate their attention on ensuring the most rapid possible normalization of monetary circulation, and on eliminating imbalances among the growth of effective demand by the population, commodity resources and paid services.

Also considered at the session was the issue of the "Flagrant Violation of Financial Discipline by the Ispolkom of the Pervomayskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies in the City of Frunze in the Expenditure of the Cooperatives' Funds."

It was noted that a decision by the rayispokom on 18 October 1988 established—in violation of the existing legislation—a procedure by which cooperatives must withhold one percent of their income for the purpose of strengthening the rayon's organs of government.

In 1988 the sum of 8,085 rubles was received from 53 cooperatives for these purposes and for the maintenance of a newly-created department of cooperatives and individual trade. Of that amount 4,216 rubles were used to maintain the department, while 2,340 were used to pay salaries and increases to workers in the ispolkom apparatus and its departments.

This kind of activity by the rayispolkom and by Chairman D.S. Rustembekov personally is a flagrant violation of the USSR Council of Ministers resolution which established that the payment of salaries and increases for ispolkom employees of the local soviets of people's deputies must be made from the wage fund, which is approved by a higher organ during the formulation of the local budget. Nor were measures taken to eliminate the violations by the bookkeepers in the rayispolkom's financial department, which carries out the calculation and payment of wages.

The Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers condemned this defective practice by the Ispolkom of the Pervomayskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies, which has been using the financial resources of the cooperatives for purposes unrelated to their activities.

A severe reprimand was issued to the rayispolkom chairman, D.S. Rustembekov, for flagrantly violating the procedure in effect for the establishment of wage increases for employees of the ispolkom and its departments, as well as for diverting the financial resources of the cooperatives for purposes unrelated to their activities. His statement that the increases for employees of the ispolkoms and its departments, which were illegally drawn from the funds of the cooperatives, had been completely restored was taken into account.

The republic's government noted that the Ispolkom of the Frunze City Soviet of People's Deputies is doing a poor job of monitoring the observance of the existing legislation by the rayispolkoms and made it mandatory for the ispolkom to take urgent measures in order to prevent similar violations from occurring in the future.

The Kirghiz SSR Ministry of Finance was assigned to set up a system for monitoring the observance of staff and budget discipline within the ispolkoms of the local soviets.

It was proposed to the ispolkoms of the oblast, municipal and rayon soviets of people's deputies that they should ensure strict observance of staff and budget discipline, that they should disband departments of cooperatives in those places where they have been created as part of the ispolkoms, and that should they not permit the utilization of funds from public organizations for purposes unrelated to their activity.

N.I. Semenov, secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee, participated in the work of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers session.

**Institutionalized Censorship of Scientific Works
Seen as Obsolete**

18300440a Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
12 Jan 89 p 2

[Article by V. Belenkiy, senior scientific associate, laboratory for labor sociology, physiology and hygiene, Scientific Research Institute for Large Tires, Dnepropetrovsk: "Home-Grown Censorship Obstructs Glasnost"]

[Text] State secrets must be kept, including in the press. We have special agencies to do this. In addition to these, so-called expert committees have been created in industrial enterprises and scientific institutions for the same purpose. Their task is to not allow information to be published in prepared articles, brochures, books, speeches at various conferences, etc., the appearance of which could inflict harm on our country, or let the description of an invention or discovery, for which an author's certificate has not yet been received, "slip through."

I repeat: this is all a real necessity. There would be no objections to it whatsoever, except for one "but"...

It lies in the fact that the mechanism, originally intended for protecting state interests, gradually began to turn into a kind of departmental barrier in the way of glasnost. The policy of democratization, which the party is now conducting, has particularly illuminated this problem.

So, an author has written an article for a solid journal or prepared a brochure for publication: sharp, problem-oriented material that is especially needed today. According to regulations, he brings his work to the chairman of the expert committee, who is usually the leader or one of the chief specialists at the enterprise or institution. What do you think: if the article contains facts and figures, not very favorable for this collective, will the expert committee be entirely impartial? The answer is obvious: hardly.

I refer to my personal experience. I once prepared material on the reasons for losses of work time in tire industry enterprises. I wanted to send it to the sectorial journal, but the expert committee of the Large Tire Institute, which our sociological laboratory is part of, gave a firm "no." At my own fear and risk, I sent this same article to EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA and it was published in the third issue for 1987 under the title "Reliability, Again Reliability." Without any act of expert analysis. No secret whatsoever was published, except for purely departmental secrets. Certain people did not like the criticism it contained. Therefore, during the discussion of the newspaper article at my own institute, its leadership above all attempted to clarify how I could be so bold as to send material without the act of expert analysis.

On the whole, the same newspaper article received a good response in the sector. The ministry recommended that it be discussed in labor and scientific collectives. Yet, if I had agreed at that time with the expert committee's opinion, the article would never have seen the light.

The story is the same with material on the cadre problem. First, the traditional "no" from the institute experts, and then—publication in the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKOYE ISSLEDOVANIYE. Many such examples could be given.

Here a question arises: are these expert committees needed everywhere? Really, do we have so few plants and institutes, where the leadership's salary is the biggest secret? After all, we do have an administration for protecting state secrets in the press, the employees of which are sufficiently qualified to carry out their responsibilities. Let them decide what kind of information should be published, and what should not. Moreover, we now live in the age of restructuring and glasnost. Much of that which, not long ago, we were afraid to even whisper about, is now splashed across newspaper pages and television screens. Openness has become the standard for social life. Yet, meanwhile the system of home-grown censorship remains inviolable.

There are a few subtleties here. The staff of the expert committee for our institute includes specialists in the tire industry. However, it is incomprehensible to me personally how they can evaluate the works of the psychologists and sociologists from our subdivision. Certainly, it is a case of not letting one "wash the dirty laundry in public." For instance, I was unable to get an "OK" for the article in EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA at my own institution in the course of 6 months. Finally, Yu. Grachev, chairman of the expert committee, returned the manuscript to me with a wish for success in the field of personal initiative. That was only after the CPSU Central Committee resolution came out on the suppression of criticism by the leaders of air and water transport in their subdepartmental newspapers.

It is like this everywhere. I recall the years when I worked at the "Dneproshina" Association. There, back in 1984, the general director issued an instruction: all developments on matters of labor and wages must be mandatorily coordinated with the chief of the corresponding department before being sent to outside organizations. As you yourselves can understand, no criticism was allowed beyond the bounds of the association.

Even today, in meeting with many authors—physicians, economists, sociologists, metallurgists, miners—I hear about the pains and offenses, about losses of important work and bold ideas, which were not published because of the local expert committees. So it is that the attempts by the administrative system to squeeze a critical or

non-standard manuscript into the bed of Procrustes of their own understanding of glasnost, using expert analysis, are turning out to be successful even in the current period of restructuring.

What, in my opinion, should be done about this? My suggestions are simple and understandable. Institutes should abolish expert committees in their present form, keeping them only in those areas and subjects, where it is really necessary to protect state secrets. A list of banned subjects and statistical data should be clearly indicated in the draft Law on Glasnost, which is being prepared. Everything else should be considered to not require coordination either "on site," or "from above." Writers working in the social sciences should be freed from any sort of ban on glasnost.

From the Editors: At the end of 1988, USSR Glavlit released a document regulating the procedure for approving materials, which differs advantageously from the previous one. It specifies the topics, directions, nature and type of materials which are subject to expert analysis. These are mainly materials relating to matters of the country's defense capability and those which would be able to damage the state's economic interests. Previously, this border was ambiguous and, for example, articles on humanitarian questions, about which the author writes, were entirely groundlessly subjected to expert analysis.

Authorities Planning Scrambled, Subscription TV Movie Channel

18300440b Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Feb 89 p 7

[Interview with Oleg Vladimirovich Uralov, deputy chairman, USSR Goskino, general director, All-Union "Videofilm" Creative Production Association by correspondent I. Andreyev : "Video By Subscription"]

[Text] Goskino and the USSR Union of Cinematographers plan to jointly create a pay TV movie channel. Not, however, a cable channel, but one broadcast on the air, utilizing the reserve and additional translation capabilities of USSR Minsvyaz.

We asked O. Uralov, general director of the All-Union "Videofilm" Creative Production Association [VPTO], deputy chairman of USSR Goskino, to comment on the project.

[Uralov] Broadcasting of this sort, in my opinion, ideally combines the ideological and commercial functions of movie-making. On the one hand, millions and millions of TV owners will be able to receive virtually all Soviet and foreign entertainment, documentary and popular scientific films which are in the movie archives, as well as new movie and video programs and foreign films specially purchased for video rental, "delivered to their homes." On the other, television through paid subscription sharply raises the commercial yield of the tapes made by film studios. Today, for example, only 5 percent

of the 1,180 films annually produced in our country pay for themselves in movie sales. It also does not look like movie sales will be able to increase dividends. Incidentally, this is a universal problem. The largest film studios in the world, such as Hollywood, have been working for a long time not only for movies and television, but also for video rentals, as well as for the video market, from which they receive the greatest profit. For us, alas, trade in cassettes for the present time is not a very promising path—does the population have very many video players? That is why precisely a pay TV channel will repay a hundredfold the expenses for movie and video production, and will enable the Soviet cinematographer to convert entirely to cost-accounting and self-financing. According to our estimates, if one-half of all TV owners in the country become subscribers, the profit would be 1.5-2 billion rubles annually.

[Andreyev] A few words, Oleg Vladimirovich, on the technical side of the matter...

[Uralov] If you decided to subscribe to the pay channel, you would register your subscription, I suppose, at a communications department, just as if for a newspaper or magazine. For example, for Muscovites it would cost about 10 rubles per month. Along with the receipt, you will receive a special descrambler—a compact device that converts the bad "picture" with strong interference on your TV into a clear one, as it should be. The signal is "ruined" or scrambled by the television center, and only a subscriber who owns a descrambler can restore the image on the video channel. This is nothing new. For instance, the "Plus Channel" in France operates on this principle...

[Andreyev] Won't there be a shortage of interference descramblers—millions of them will be needed—for the pay TV channel?

[Uralov] One cooperative has already developed such a device, on our order. I am sure there will be no problem with production.

[Andreyev] What will the duration of broadcasts be for a week?

[Uralov] Approximately 42 hours—about 2,000 hours annually. This is entirely within the capabilities of USSR Goskino organizations and studios. In our opinion, the "Videofilm" VPTO can and should be the basic production center for the new channel. The guarantee of this is the technical video center being developed in the association, which is supplied with the most modern electronic equipment, and eight creative studios, whose annual production in 1995 will consist of original video programs with an overall duration of 300 hours. It is also important that the commercial possibilities of the "Videofilm" VPTO will make it possible for the first time to show full-house theater performances and even opening night shows on the TV channel. We would be able to pay theaters for the right to the first showing.

[Andreyev] Who, in your opinion, will be the "owner" of the channel?

[Uralov] On the technical side, USSR Minsvyaz, which even today possesses all the engineering equipment for television. As far as the company ownership of the channel is concerned, the "owner" might, for instance, be a joint Goskino and Minsvyaz enterprise or even a joint stock company, utilizing the means and capabilities

of different cultural funds and creative unions. This, by the way, would be able to grant the channel a social status, rather than that of state broadcasting, which TV essentially has now. As far as I can judge, the pay TV channel will spark tremendous interest among Western television and advertising companies. I think it is worth going into such cooperation, keeping for ourselves the right to ideological control over video programs supplied by them.

Medvedev Discusses Stalin-Kamenev Rivalry
18300578 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 18, 3 May 89 p 13

[Article by Roy Medvedev: "Kamenev. Features of a Political Portrait"]

[Excerpts] He was a close comrade-in-arms to Lenin long years before the revolution. At the same time, probably, he was the only member of the Russian Communist Party (bolshevik) Central Committee who combined personal closeness to Lenin with personal closeness to Stalin. No one else exerted more effort to promote him to the post of General Secretary of the Central Committee. But he was also the first to speak out loud at the 14th Party Congress against attempts to make him a "leader": "...I have come to the conclusion that Comrade Stalin cannot perform the role of unifier of the bolshevik staff."

But it was already too late. After these words the delegates at the congress rose from their seats and gave an ovation. "Stalin! Stalin!" shouted the people, who in 10 to 12 years would be shot on his orders. Like Kamenev himself. [passages omitted]

It must be kept in mind that it was Kamenev who, by decision of the Second Congress of Soviets, became the first bolshevik chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, although he did not remain long in that post. The soviets at that time included SRs [members of socialist-revolutionary party], mensheviks, anarchists, and representatives of many other smaller political groups and parties. Soon the question arose of creating a "united socialist" government. Kamenev supported that idea. But Lenin was resolutely against it. As a protest against the decision of the Central Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party (bolshevik), Kamenev renounced his posts and even announced he was quitting the Central Committee. Later, to be sure, he very quickly acknowledged his mistake and rejoined the Central Committee. But Ya. M. Sverdlov had already been elected chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

Kamenev was a member of the group of Soviet representatives which signed the armistice agreement with Germany in November 1917. He was also a member of the delegation which traveled to Brest for peace negotiations with the countries of the German-Austrian bloc. The first stage of the negotiations was unsuccessful, and the German army took the offensive, hurling units of the Russian army, weary of the war, back eastward. During those crucial days, Lenin was acting on various fronts. The Soviet government called upon the army and the people to defend the country. Simultaneously, Germany was being urged to resume peace negotiations. At the same time, Lenin dispatched a special envoy from the Council of People's Commissars and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to England and France to explain the Soviet government's foreign policy to the countries of the Entente. Lenin's choice fell on

Kamenev, whom the West considered one of the most "moderate" bolsheviks. With considerable difficulty, Kamenev arrived in London. But the Entente was preparing an invasion of Russia's northern regions, and our envoy was expelled from England a week later. On the return trip, he was captured by the White Finns; a ferocious civil war was raging in Finland. Only in August of 1918, when civil war erupted in Russia itself, was the Soviet government able to get Kamenev back in exchange for a group of White Guards, chiefly of Finnish origin.

Lenin knew very well the capabilities and potentials of members of the Central Committee. Kamenev, for example, was totally incompetent in regard to military matters but gravitated toward political activities, economic work, and the conduct of negotiations. He was soon elected chairman of the Moscow Soviet, and if he ever did have occasion to go to the front, it was mostly in order to settle various kinds of conflicts.

For example, an extremely alarming situation developed on the Southern Front in 1919. To rally the "anti-Denikin" forces required an agreement both with Makhno's army and his "anarchist republic" in Gulyay-Pole. Not all of the Soviet leaders of Moscow and the Ukraine agreed with the policy of supporting Makhno, Trotskiy in particular. Lenin sent Kamenev to Gulyay-Pole, who quickly perceived the enormous military potential of Makhno and the absurdity of the many rumors that were circulating about him. The negotiations took two days—3 and 4 May—and resulted in an important agreement.

As the chairman of the Moscow Soviet and a member of the Central Committee, Kamenev was frequently appealed to by representatives of the Poets Union, which was created in 1918 to help literary figures who were in an extremely difficult position during the years of the Civil War. Several of them who sympathized with the Cadets [constitutional democrats] or the SRs, were arrested by the Cheka. Quite a few writers were released at Kamenev's request, in particular A. A. Kizevetter, I. A. Novikov.... Lev Borisovich also met with M. A. Voloshin, who even read his verses to him and his wife. When Voloshin organized the Arts Colony in his home in Koktabel later on, it was Kamenev he turned to for help in this matter:

"...You yourself are aware of the present gravity of the position of writers, artists, and poets, how overstressed each one is by work and the tension of city life, how important it is for some to have a revitalizing summer vacation, for others to have the opportunity to join together in creative work, and how little can be done in this regard by TsKUVU [expansion unknown], which is constantly curtailing its activities. For this reason, I appeal to you, Lev Borisovich, as a person who understands and cherishes the interests of the Russian arts, to become a patron of the Koktabel Arts Colony and allow me to appeal to you to protect its existence at critical times.... Please do not think that I have some kind of

personal economic interest in this... I myself, my little nook, my workshop and my library are quite adequately protected and are the target of no one.... The fact that the Arts Colony is completely unselfish and 'clean' can be corroborated for you by everyone who has been a guest in my home, everyone who knows about my life.... But the best thing, of course, would be for you and Olga Davydovna to visit me in Koktabel at the time of your summer trip to the south in order to gain a sense of the style and spirit of my home...."

People like Voloshin never wrote letters of this sort to Zinovyev, Trotskiy, or Stalin.

From Lenin's works we know that in 1919-1922 Vladimir Ilich often turned to Kamenev for support and advice as well as in regard to numerous other problems. And indeed, Kamenev turned to Lenin. In Lenin's collected works and biochronology the name of Lev Borisovich is encountered more often than the names of other members of the Politburo. Vladimir Ilich valued Kamenev highly as a theoretician. Back in July 1917, a time of acute political crisis in the country, when Lenin was threatened with arrest and was compelled to go underground, it was Kamenev he asked to publish his notebooks about the state—that is, the book "The State and Revolution"—in the event of his (Lenin's) death. Later, when he became ill, he turned over his personal scientific files to Kamenev. Later these files became the basis for the V. I. Lenin Institute, the first director of which was Kamenev.

The most authoritative organ of authority in the country between 1918 and 1922, undoubtedly, was the Council of People's Commissars, headed by Lenin. Vladimir Ilich also headed a "narrower" organ—the Council of Labor and Defense, which was created in 1920 with the status of a special commission of the Council of People's Commissars.

As is well known, Lenin had two deputies in the Council of People's Commissars—A. I. Rykov and A. D. Tsyurupa. He really valued his deputies highly, but soon the question was not so much that of his deputies and aides as of the man who would in fact take Lenin's place during the time of increasingly lengthy bouts of his illness. Vladimir Ilich still did not deem it possible to recommend either Rykov or Tsyurupa for such a role. He proposed that the Central Committee select another person—this time, the "first" deputy chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and the Council of Labor and Defense. Later, Trotskiy claimed that Lenin had offered this post to him, Trotskiy, but for some reason or other, he said, he turned it down. However, we have no documents to confirm this, whereas we do know from the documents that Lenin proposed appointing Kamenev as his first deputy, and this recommendation was accepted both by the Central Committee and Kamenev himself. Lev Borisovich began to preside over meetings of the Politburo, while retaining the post of chairman of the Moscow Soviet. Lenin was quite happy

with Kamenev's efforts and called him a kind of "workhorse" who could successfully pull three loads—the Council of People's Commissars, the Council of Labor and Defense, and the Moscow Soviet. "I must say," he said jokingly, "that this workhorse is exceptionally capable and zealous."

Although Kamenev was in effect in charge of the highest organs of the Russian Communist Party (bolshevik) and Soviet power in late 1922 and in 1923, Lenin did not yet view him as his possible successor. It is not by chance, therefore, that in his "Testament," in the part characterizing the most outstanding figures in the party leadership, Vladimir Ilich noted that for Kamenev and Zinovyev "the October episode, of course, was not a chance occurrence." These words, let me note, were written in Gorki just 10 days after Lenin completed his last working day in his Kremlin office, on 12 December 1922, in the company of Kamenev, Rykov, and Tsyurupa.

In 1923, unfortunately, relations between Kamenev and Lenin became different than before. The fact is, as I mentioned earlier, that at that time Kamenev was probably the only man in the Politburo who combined relations of trust with Lenin along with similarly close relations with Stalin. Stalin had conflicts with Trotskiy in the years 1917-1922 and, more rarely, with Zinovyev and Sverdlov (until his death in 1919), but not with Kamenev. It sometimes happened that Stalin and Kamenev even came out jointly against Lenin; for example, in the autumn of 1922 during discussions about problems relating to the formation of the USSR. Naturally, it would take a considerable degree of trust to exchange memoranda like the following at the 27 September meeting of the Politburo during discussions of the so-called "Georgian affair":

Kamenev: Ilich is ready to go to war in defense of independence. He suggests that I meet with the Georgians. He even rejects yesterday's amendments. M. I. called.

Stalin: In my opinion, we need to stand firm against Ilich. If a couple of Georgian mensheviks can influence Georgian communists, and they can influence Ilich, then what does independence have to do with it?

We know that it was Kamenev who insisted on Stalin's candidacy for the post of General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (bolshevik). Lenin did not object, evidently thinking that the sterner Stalin would nicely complement, in the collective leadership, the softer although more educated Kamenev, who held higher posts. Barely a year later, Lenin realized the erroneousness of that decision.

Kamenev also took part in the unseemly action of isolating Lenin, who was ill, from the Central Committee, the party, and the party press. We know that responsibility for supervising Lenin's treatment and

compliance with his "caring regimen" rested with Stalin in the Politburo. But Kamenev, like Zinovyev, upheld the General Secretary in every way in this. Even N. K. Krupskaya did not yet understand this. For this reason, it was Kamenev she turned to with her complaints or protests about Stalin's crudeness, since she believed that Kamenev was the man closest to Vladimir Ilich in the party.

Lenin's death immediately raised numerous difficult problems. One of them was that of appointing a new Chairman of the USSR Council of People's Commissars. It seemed logical to appoint Kamenev to the post, since he had already served as chairman for over a year. Of course, Kamenev did not have a fraction of the authority and political qualities that Lenin possessed. For this reason, he had frequent clashes at meetings of the Council of People's Commissars and in day-to-day work, in particular with Rykov, who was undoubtedly offended by Kamenev's appointment as Lenin's first deputy. But although Vladimir Ilich appreciated Rykov's businesslike qualities, he did not consider him a major political figure and did not mention him in his "Testament."

M. P. Yakubovich, one of the most knowledgeable although not one of the leading participants in the events of those years, recalled:

"Kamenev was not ambitious or a lover of power. In this regard, he was the complete opposite of Stalin. His lack of ambition became a kind of passivity and excessive diffidence, which in many cases could and actually did turn out to be harmful to the interests of the party and the state. This shortcoming of his—a lack of character—was much less consequential and less noticeable while Lenin was alive.... After Lenin died, Stalin, with the support of Zinovyev, convinced the Central Committee to divide two posts that had been combined under Lenin—that of Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and Chairman of the Council of Labor and Defense—which in essence were inseparable. He persuaded them to do so under the pretext that it was awkward, given the 'muzhik' nature of the country, to appoint someone who was a Jew to the post of chairman of the Council of People's Commissars.... This argument would probably not have convinced most members of the Central Committee if Kamenev himself had not immediately endorsed it.... And then the fatal decision was made to institute a 'diarchy'—to appoint Rykov chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and Kamenev as chairman of the Council of Labor and Defense and first deputy chairman of the Council of People's Commissars (a post which he was already considered to hold). It was fatal because ambition impelled Rykov to engage in intrigues against Kamenev... and made him a tool of Stalin in the latter's struggle to remove Kamenev completely from governmental activities...."

However, Kamenev's main concern in 1924 was not his disagreements with Rykov but his increasing enmity with Trotskiy, who at the time was still the most well-known and popular figure in the party leadership. This served as the basis for a political alliance between Kamenev, who may have lacked ambition but not self-esteem, and Zinovyev, who was distinguished by considerable ambition and obvious aspired to the role of Lenin's successor, being supposedly the bolshevik closest to him (Zinovyev's closeness to Lenin dated back to the emigre period, when he was one of the members of the party's center abroad for almost 10 years before the revolution. Stalin was also recruited to the Kamenev-Zinovyev bloc. A so-called "troika" was formed which, in fact, controlled the party apparatus and the policies of the Russian Communist Party (bolshevik).

As was recently revealed, the basic content of Lenin's "Testament" was no secret either to Kamenev or to Stalin. As early as 1923, it was Kamenev who did everything he could to oppose the publication even of those of Lenin's letters and articles which Vladimir Ilich did not consider secret and which he wished to see published. Nevertheless, a considerable portion of them were published, although frequently with characteristic cuts. However, Lenin's important letter about the danger of a split in the party was not published. At a meeting of the Politburo, Kamenev, who was conducting it, stated firmly: "It must not be printed. It is an unspoken [neskazannaya] speech at the Politburo. Nothing more."

When the Georgian communist Mdivani attempted to quote excerpts from Lenin's letter at the 12th Congress, Kamenev, who was presiding over the meeting, abruptly cut the speaker off, referring to the Central Committee's decision. Kamenev and Zinovyev resorted to the same maneuver in 1924, when, during preparations for the Congress, Krupskaya officially submitted to a special commission of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (bolshevik) the main part, formerly secret ("until my death"), of the "Letter to the Congress." At that moment, Stalin ostentatiously withdrew from the discussion concerning the issue, and then Zinovyev and Kamenev pushed through the decision to read Lenin's document separately to delegations of the Congress.

It was Kamenev who read the letter to the delegations most often. In doing so, he made his own comments and noted that the situation in the party had changed substantially, that the main danger was posed not by Stalin's crudeness and untrustworthiness but by the behavior and policies of Trotskiy and the Trotskiytes.

By late 1923, Stalin no longer gave all his support to Zinovyev and Kamenev who, for example, insisted on expelling Trotskiy from the Russian Communist Party (bolshevik) and saw the possibility of arresting him. Although he suffered a political defeat, Trotskiy remained a member of the Politburo. He was ostentatiously silent at Politburo meetings, and sometimes even

read French novels. In late 1924, however, he suddenly resumed his opposition to Kamenev and Zinovyev; he published "The Lessons of October" and once more mentioned Kamenev's and Zinovyev's behavior during the October Revolution. The stormy debates over the "Lessons" resulted in a condemnation of Trotskiy, but Kamenev's and Zinovyev's reputation was also dealt an irreparable blow. Stalin could be content. While Trotskiy, on the one hand, and Zinovyev and Kamenev, on the other, argued bitterly, the General Secretary was securing the support of Politburo members such as Rykov, Tomskiy, and Bukharin, and was able to slough off Kamenev's and Zinovyev's annoying tutelage.

I will not describe all the dramatic ups and downs of the struggle with the "Leningrad opposition" headed by Zinovyev and Kamenev, and later with the so-called "united" or "left-wing" opposition, which wound up headed by the recent enemies Trotskiy, Zinovyev, and Kamenev. Much has already been said about this. I will only note that although the actual leaders of the opposition were first Zinovyev and then Trotskiy, it was still Kamenev who spoke out against Stalin most frequently and boldly.

Kamenev was elected a member of the Central Committee for the last time at the 15th All-Russian Communist Party (bolshevik) Congress. He was even made a member of the Politburo, but only as a candidate member. He was removed from posts of leadership in the Council of Labor and Defense and the USSR Council of People's Commissars and appointed people's commissar of foreign and domestic trade.

Lev Borisovich did not serve in the People's Commissariat of Trade for long. In late 1927, the "left-wing" opposition again attempted a challenge and again suffered defeat. Kamenev was expelled from the party, but after declaring his repentance he was reinstated and made the ambassador to Italy. On one of his trips back to the USSR, Kamenev was visited by I. Ya. Vrachev, a recent participant in the "left-wing" opposition who was the only living participant in the First Congress of Soviets and the first Central Executive Committee of the USSR. According to Vrachev, Kamenev, who was living in the Kremlin at that time, stated: "Recently the Fascist Party in Italy drew up a new charter, the first paragraph in which stated that the Duce is the head of the party. What clarity! That is what we ought to stipulate about Stalin."

But Kamenev did not serve as ambassador to Italy very long either. Between 1928 and 1932 he was expelled from the party twice and later reinstated. He was a broken man by then, and applied himself only to literary and scientific work. Having served for some time as

director of the Academia Publishing House, he organized and served as the first director of the Institute of World Literature under the USSR Central Executive Committee.

Even now, however, the disgraced Kamenev was always having to read about how he had been a "strikebreaker" of the revolution and a "left-wing adventurer," or to confess all his mistakes of the past (including imaginary ones), all the while extolling Stalin, "the great architect of socialism." An especially sorry page in his biography is his speech at the 17th Party Congress. He not only compared Stalin's era with the time when Lenin had stood at the helm; he called his own career a chain of "errors and crimes," using the word "crime" not merely in the political but in the legal sense. He even declared that every factional group in the party inevitably started out on "the criminal path." He declared that "the second wave of counterrevolution surged through the breach which we opened, the wave of kulak ideology." As a third such wave he classified the views of Ryutin and his group, "an ideology of completely open kulakism." His general conclusion: "The struggle against Stalin is the inevitable trait of any counterrevolutionary group, whatever it is called."

Kamenev's days were numbered. He was not only shocked but frightened by the murder of Kirov. On 16 December, Kamenev was arrested in his apartment and accused of complicity in the murder. On 13 January 1935, Lev Sheynin, the investigator for especially important cases (and a writer on the side), and A. Vyshinskiy, the procurator, signed the accusation on the case concerning the so-called "Moscow Center." Not long after, the Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court sentenced Kamenev to five years imprisonment as being a "less active participant in the group." That summer there was another closed trial concerning the little-known "Kremlin Affair," at which Kamenev's term was extended.

Kamenev's torments did not stop at that point, because the spring of 1936 marked the beginning of preparations for the first "open" trial, and the main role in it was assigned to Zinovyev and Kamenev. They were compelled to make more and more new "confessions" of espionage and terror. The trial took place in August. Kamenev also confessed to secret links with Trotskiy and the Gestapo, to having organized a counterrevolutionary plot, and to the involvement in this plot of Radek and Bukharin, Tomskiy and Rykov, who had not been arrested at that time. Like Zinovyev, Kamenev was sentenced to be executed and was shot several hours after sentencing.

He was not rehabilitated until recently, in 1988.

Legal Expert on Ivanovo Officials' Refusal To Register Believers

18001060 Moscow SOVETY NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV in Russian No 4, 1989 pp 116-119

[Commentary by V.V. Klochkov, chief, Sector of General Theory of Socialist Legality and Problems of Procuratorial Inspection of the VNII [All-Union Scientific Research Institute] for Problems of Strengthening Legality and Law and Order of the USSR Procuracy, doctor of juridical science, and professor: "A Difficult Road to the Cathedral"]

[Text] **To the editor-in-chief—from a group of Orthodox believers in the city of Ivanovo.**

In August 1988 we believers submitted a statement signed by 27 persons and containing a request to register a religious community of Orthodox Christians in accordance with the legislation on religious cults.

For two months we received no reply from the gorispolkom. Under the pressure of complaints, L.I. Antonova, the gorispolkom secretary, furnished us with a written reply in the negative on 4 October. In our complaints to the oblispolkom, to the person in charge of religious affairs, and to other high levels of authority, we wrote about the difficult conditions experienced by the believers in the city of Ivanovo. The population of this city is almost half a million. And for such a city we have only one small cathedral. On holidays people faint from the stuffiness therein, and the first-aid service is a frequent guest at the cathedral.

The gorispolkom issued a refusal to our request to register a group of 20 believers and open up the Vvedenskiy Cathedral. As its grounds for this decision, the gorispolkom stated that we could also accommodate our religious needs in the Preobrazhenskiy Cathedral. L.I. Antonova added orally that questions of registering groups of 20 believers are not decided by the gorispolkom, a petition was being written to the oblispolkom, and that the final decision would be made by the Council for Religious Affairs.... L.I. Antonova says that she has observed no laws being violated in the church. But, in fact, she does not heed the voices and needs of the believers. She is the person responsible for religion in the ispolkom. She has been seen at the cathedral only two or three times and has never stood in the cathedral building itself; she has not seen the crowding and the crush of people. And at the ispolkom session she reported that there was room to move about freely in the cathedral and that we could continue on under these conditions. Our stated request that representatives from our group of 20 be invited to the ispolkom session was ignored.

During the time of our ordeals making the rounds of the offices, the fate of the Vvedenskiy Cathedral was decided thrice. Now it has become known that some people want to turn the cathedral over to the kids. With dozens of

clubs now being deserted, do the kids of Ivanovo have nowhere else to dance and sing but in a cathedral?! Now they will be clearly shown in the cathedral how it is necessary to continue to mock a holy place for the people, a landmark of our highest culture, our Holy Russia....

Is it possible that we in this city have not seen enough of an example with the Melanzhist Park of Culture, which was constructed right next to the former Uspenskiy Church on the site of the old graveyard? Now the young people feverishly dance here over the bones of their forebears. And the people call this place the "park of the quick and the dead"....

So why are we being refused by our local authorities without any grounds? Help us to open the cathedral. We await your reply with hope.

[Signed] L.V. Kholina, M.A. Polinkova, and others (13 signatures in all).

The editors requested the Council for Religious Affairs under the RSFSR Council of Ministers to furnish help in analyzing the basis of the complaint by the group of believers from the city of Ivanovo. We asked Professor V.V. KLOCHKOV, chief, Sector of General Theory of Socialist Legality and Problems of Procuratorial Inspection of the VNII for Problems of Strengthening Legality and Law and order of the USSR Procuracy, doctor of juridical science, to comment on the results of the checkup which was conducted and on the letter itself. Here below is what he reported to us:

The complaint by the believers from the city of Ivanovo poses fundamental problems; without their solution freedom of conscience cannot be implemented, nor can a constitutional right of citizens be exercised. These are the problems of registering a religious society and turning a house of worship over to it.

Religious liberty is an organic component of freedom of conscience. Article 52 of the USSR Constitution proclaims that each citizen has the right to profess any religion and perform the rites of religious cults. Such a definition of religious liberty fully conforms to the commonly recognized understanding of it, as well as to its treatment in the legislation of present-day states and in international law.

The concept of freedom of religion (religious liberty) is revealed in several international acts: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 18), the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights (Article 18), the Concluding Act of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation (1975), the Concluding Document of the Madrid Meeting (1980), the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination Based on Religion or Convictions (Article 1).

According to these acts, every person has the right to freedom of religion, which includes the freedom to have (to adopt or change) according to his own choice, any kind of religion and the freedom to profess it, individually or together with other persons, in public or private procedures.

The concluding document of the Vienna Meeting of Representatives from the States Participating in the Conference on European Security and Cooperation provides that, in order to ensure freedom for an individual to profess a religion, the participating states will, among other things, grant to associations of believers, upon their request, a recognition of the status provided for in their countries and to respect the right of these religious associations to found and maintain freely accessible places for religious services or assemblies.

It follows from this that freedom of religion (religious liberty) includes, in accordance with international-legal norms, the right of believers to create religious associations, to obtain official recognition of these associations by the state in accordance with the laws existing within that state, as well as the right of religious associations to have houses of worship. The above-named rights are necessary elements of religious liberty, and they are likewise in accordance with Soviet legislation.

The decree of the All-Union Central Executive Committee and the RSFSR Council of People's Commissars, dated 8 April 1929 and entitled "On Religious Associations," as edited in the Ukase of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, dated 23 June 1975, establishes the right of believing citizens who have reached the age of 18 years and numbering at least 20 persons to unite in a religious society for the joint satisfaction of their religious needs. Believers who, because of their small number, cannot form a religious society are granted the right to form a group (Article 3).

Religious associations—societies and groups—acquire official status as a result of their registration. Mandatory registration of religious associations as a form of recognition of their status by the state has now been provided for by the laws of many states, including Britain, the United States, and Japan. In accordance with the decree entitled "On Religious Associations" (Article 4), an association can proceed to engage in its activity only after registering in the Council for Religious Affairs under the USSR Council of Ministers. Naturally, this engenders certain specific legal relations between them and the state organs, rights and obligations of the associations, as provided by law, along with the possibility of the state organs to implement in regard to them the material and other guarantees of religious liberty.

The believers from the city of Ivanovo write that the gorispolkom refused to register the founders of a religious society, citing the fact that the city has the existing Preobrazhenskiy Cathedral. Such a type of refusal (this is not the only instance) is illegal on two grounds.

In the first place, the ispolkoms of the local Soviets of People's Deputies do not have any right to refuse to consider the petitions submitted by believers concerning the registration of associations. Having received such a petition, the ispolkom of the city or rayon Soviet should send it, along with its own conclusion (positive or negative) to the Council of Ministers of an autonomous republic, or the ispolkom of a kray or oblast Soviet. The latter should examine the materials concerning the registration of the religious association within a month's time, and then send them on with their own ideas to the Council for Religious Affairs under the USSR Council of Ministers, which makes the final decision as to registering (or refusal to register) the religious society or group of believers (See Articles 5-7 of the decree entitled "On Religious Associations").

In the second place, citing the fact that Ivanovo already has a registered society of the Russian Orthodox Church and the existing Preobrazhenskiy Cathedral cannot serve as grounds for refusing to register a religious association. The believers of any religious faith, in this instance, that of the Orthodox Church, have the right to normal conditions for satisfying their own religious needs. The presence in the oblast center of just one house of worship does not ensure such conditions, as may be seen from the believers' complaint. Inasmuch as a religious association can use, according to the law (Article 10 of the decree entitled "On Religious Associations"), only one place of worship, the opening in Ivanovo of a second Orthodox Church is possible only on condition that the new religious society becomes registered. Therefore, on 23 November 1988 the Council for Religious Affairs under the USSR Council of Ministers disagreed with the rejection by the local soviet organs, and it adopted a decision to register a second religious society of the Russian Orthodox Church in the city of Ivanovo.

A conflicting situation remains in connection with the fact that the local organs do not consider it a right of this society to obtain a house of worship for its use. The decree of the RSFSR SNK [Council of People's Commissars] dated 23 January 1918 and entitled "On the Separation of Church from the State and the School from the Church," after proclaiming the people's acquisition of all property existing in Russia which had heretofore belong to the church or religious societies, nevertheless, did establishing the following proviso: "Buildings and facilities designed especially for the purposes of divine services shall be turned over, in accordance with particular decrees of the local or central state authority for free use by the appropriate religious societies" (Article 13). This paragraph of the decree was written by V.I. Lenin.

The procedure for its implementation was regulated by the decree entitled "On Religious Associations" (Articles 5, 8, and 10). Believers comprising a religious society can obtain, upon a decision of the Council for Religious Affairs under the USSR Council of Ministers, free use of special houses of worship on conditions and following the procedure provided for by an agreement concluded

by the religious society with the plenipotentiary representative of the ispolkom of the rayon- or city-level executive committee of the rayon- or city-level Soviet of People's Deputies. Societies and groups of believers can also use for worship assemblies other rooms granted to them on leasing principles either by citizens or by ispolkoms of the Soviets. The procedure for channeling the petitions of believers with regard to opening houses of worship is the same as that used in petitions for registering a religious association. These petitions are frequently combined in a single statement.

In strict accordance with the law, the believers of the second religious society registered in Ivanovo petitioned that they be granted the free use of the building of the inactive functioning Vvedenskiy Church, which is being utilized for storing the oblast archives. It should be noted that long before this the oblispolkom adopted a decision to create organ music in the hall of the Vvedenskiy Cathedral. Therefore, construction was begun on a building to house the oblast archives, but its has not yet been completed. Later a plan was developed to organize within the cathedral a center for folkloristic, decorative-applied, and popular art, but the oblispolkom has now abandoned this idea. After disagreeing with the objections of the local soviet organs, the Council for Religious Affairs under the USSR Council of Ministers adopted the decision to turn the Vvedenskiy Cathedral over to the religious society, and this decision is subject to execution.

The complaints of this society's believers were engendered by the refusal on the part of the ispolkoms of the city- and oblast-level Soviets to satisfactorily respond to their legitimate petitions concerning the registration of a religious association and to turn over to it a house of worship, by the lack of desire to explain to the believers that it would be impossible to immediately transfer the building in which the archives were being stored. Conflict could have been averted if the oblispolkom had adopted measures to speed up the transfer of the archives to a new place, if it had furnished the believers with a written copy of its decision to transfer the Vvedenskiy Cathedral to them after it had been "freed up," and, until this should take place, if it had allocated space to the executive organ of the religious society. All it had to do was to function in strict accordance with the law in examining the petitions and complaints of the believing citizens.

Unfortunately, the complaint which the group of believers addressed to the journal SOVETY NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV is not a random instance. It is a consequence of that standpoint which has been taken by the ispolkom staff members of the Soviets of People's Deputies in Ivanovo Oblast. In 1988 the Council for Religious Affairs under the USSR Council of Ministers registered religious societies in the cities of Furmanov and Komsomolsk, as well as the transfer to them for their

free use of buildings of inactive churches. The gor-ispolkom and oblispolkom unjustifiably objected to registering these societies and to transferring the churches to them. The local organs of authority also refused to approve the petition of believers concerning the registration of a religious society in Palekh and to open a house of worship. And this in an oblast where there are 330 inactive churches, of which 132 are empty, and 97 are in a bad state of repair. Ispolkoms have refused to turn over church buildings to believers, even though the latter have pledged to restore them and maintain them in the proper condition.

It must be said that such an attitude toward believers is a phenomenon which is far from specific to the Ivanovo officials alone. In the Dagestan ASSR, where the level of religiosity is quite high, most of the rayons have absolutely no officially recognized religious associations; however, self-styled mullahs operate without hindrance. Over the last 20 years or more not a single petition has been submitted by believers concerning the registration of Muslim associations. Last year alone the ispolkoms, citing "unfeasibility" and other trumped-up motives, rejected dozens of such petitions. It is not surprising, therefore, that in 1988 alone the Council for Religious Affairs under the USSR Council of Ministers, running counter to the objections of the local authorities, registered more than 80 religious associations in the country.

The attempt by the ispolkoms of certain local Soviets of People's Deputies not to allow the registration of religious associations, and, when and if they are registered by the Council for Religious Affairs under the USSR Council of Ministers, to refuse to grant believers the use of houses of worship cannot be imagined as anything but the manifestation in a certain, specific measure of views engendered by the administrative-command system. Also manifested here is an attempt to ignore a genuinely evolved religious situation in a rayon, city, or oblast, and an attempt to "color" the results of the ideological work being conducted therein. Such actions are utterly inconsistent and invalid; they contradict the Marxist-Leninist principles of regarding churches and believers; they are fostered by hopes that administering matters can facilitate lowering the level of religiosity. They attest to a lack of understanding the inadmissibility of violating the rights of believers, and they lead ultimately merely to a negative result. They undermine and often completely negate the effectiveness of atheistic measures. These views are based, in the final analysis, on the idea maintained by certain officials that, supposedly, the implementation of the right of citizens to profess any religion and perform religious rites can either not be provided or can be provided only partially. But, of course, the democratization of society, organically includes the requirement to unwaveringly observe any and all rights, as well as the legitimate interests of citizens!

Of course, instances where the ispolkoms of the local soviets have correctly, in strict accordance with the law, reacted to petitions of believers concerning registering

their associations and opening up houses of worship are many times more than unfounded refusals. Suffice it to say that in 1988, with the support of the Soviets, about 700 new communities were registered for the Russian Orthodox Church alone. More than 400 houses of worship were opened in the Ukraine last year. However, instances of illegal refusals to register religious societies and groups of believers are incommensurate with the formation of a socialist state of law. They cannot be regarded as anything but violations not only of Soviet laws but also of the international-legal acts cited above, acts which have been ratified by the USSR and which we must abide by.

Improving the existing legislation constitutes one of the most important goals of strengthening the juridical guarantees of citizens. This likewise fully pertains to the draft law on freedom of conscience which is now being worked out. Correlation of the jurisdictions between the ispolkoms of the local Soviets of People's Deputies and the Council for Religious Affairs under the USSR Council of Ministers in this matter must be so specified, it seems to us, as to exclude the possibility of unfounded refusals to satisfy the petitions of believers concerning the registration of religious associations and opening houses of worship. However, there are various proposals on this score.

Thus, in the opinion of K.M. Kharchev, chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs under the USSR Council of Ministers, we must abandon the principle that we are "permitting" the registration of something pernicious. A religious society must be formed by a "competent procedure," and its registration by a local Soviet of People's Deputies "is, after all, a form of recognition and accounting—such is the genuinely democratic solution of the problem." In other words, neither the local Soviets of People's Deputies nor the Council for Religious Affairs under the USSR Council of Ministers have the right to refuse to register a religious society which has been formed by a "competent procedure" (K.M. Kharchev does not make any provision for the creation of groups of believers), no matter what may be the goals and the nature of the activities engaged in by a religious society.

Such a solution to the problem scarcely corresponds to the requirements of socialist legality and the norms of international law. Even the Leninist decree entitled "On Separating the Church from the State and the School from the Church" established that the free use of religious rituals was guaranteed just so long as they did not violate the public order and were not accompanied by infringements of citizens' rights. According to the Concluding Document of the Vienna Meeting Between Representatives of the States Participating in the Conference on European Security and Cooperation, the participating

states have pledged themselves to recognize the status of associations of believers "who profess or are prepared to profess their faith within the constitutional framework of their own states."

It follows from this position that official recognition by means of registration or in another form obligates those religious associations to observe and execute the laws of their own state in their own activities.

The Concluding Document also indicates the following: the participant states recognize that implementing the rights pertaining to freedom of religion can be subject only to those restrictions or limitations which have been established by law and are commensurate with their obligations with regard to international law and accepted by international pledges. Included among the above-mentioned restrictions or limitations, in accordance with Article 18 of the International Treaty on Civil and Political Rights, are restrictions on the freedom to profess a religion, and those established by law and necessary "to safeguard public security, order, health, and morality, as well as the fundamental rights and liberties of other persons."

Thus, with regard both to Soviet and to international law, the state organs which are charged with the task of registering religious associations are empowered to refuse registration to associations whose activities are connected with the non-observance of the above-mentioned limitations on religious liberty. This power, in my opinion, should be provided for in the Law on Freedom of Conscience.

The introduction of "registration without preliminaries" for religious associations, while retaining "registration with permits" for associations of non-believing (or non-believing and believing) citizens is incommensurate with Article 34 of the USSR Constitution, which establishes equal rights for the citizens of the USSR regardless of their attitude toward religion.

International treaties on economic, social, and cultural rights (Article 2) and on civil and political rights (Article 2) obligate each state participating in them to ensure equality of citizens' rights without any distinction whatsoever with regard to religion, political, or other convictions.

Ensuring full and truly equal rights to citizens in all spheres of economic, political, social, and cultural life, regardless of whether they are believers or non-believers, or what faith they profess, constitutes the most important guarantee of freedom of conscience.

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Orthodox Church, Old Believers Among Slavonic Fund Administrators

18000979 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
31 Mar 89 p 2

[Interview with Academician N.I. Tolstoy, chairman of the Slavonic Letters and Cultures Fund Council and of the Soviet Committee of Slavists, by an APN correspondent: "The Slavonic Letters and Cultures Fund Has Been Created"]

[Text] In Moscow a new public organization has been created: the Slavonic Letters and Cultures Fund. The founders and trustees of the newly created fund are the following: the RSFSR Union of Writers, the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council on Questions of Russian Culture, the Soviet Committee of Slavists, the Komsomol Central Committee, the Russian Orthodox Church, the Russian Orthodox Old Believer Church, and a number of public organizations, creative unions, ministries, industrial enterprises and corporations.

[Tolstoy] The idea for creating the fund had its inception during the May 24th celebration of the Day of Slavonic Letters last year and the year before last. These celebrations generated a response not only among the Soviet population but also abroad, even in countries where ethnic Slavs do not constitute a majority.

There is a growing interest in Slavic peoples throughout the world. Thanks to perestroyka, the interest in Russian studies has increased remarkably. It is gratifying that the Russian words "perestroyka" and "glasnost" have already entered all languages of the world. Naturally, we have no intention of fencing ourselves in behind the palisades of Russian cultural exclusivity. We have sufficiently broad All-Slavic and, I would say, All-European cultural horizons. But the issue of ties between Slavic and Asian peoples is no less important. That is why we intend to hold this year's upcoming celebration of Russian letters in the cradle of Russian culture, Kiev. And next year's celebration will take place in Polotsk, the homeland of the outstanding Slavic cultural figure Frantsisk Skorina; in 1991 celebrations will be held in the capital of Bashkiria, Ufa.

[Correspondent] How are you planning to organize the fund's work?

[Tolstoy] We have a successful example of activities in the Cultural Foundation, headed by Academician D.S. Likhachev. The Cultural Fund's program is very extensive. We are setting as our goal the study and promulgation of the literature, language, customs, traditions, and culture of Slavic peoples in terms of their historical and social integrity and their common interests in the development of a universal culture.

[Correspondent] According to its statutes, the fund plans to help our compatriots abroad preserve their national identity.

[Tolstoy] As concerns the Slavic diaspora to non-Slavic countries, Slavic peoples have integrated culturally and even linguistically with their corresponding surroundings. But nevertheless, they strive to preserve their national culture and the ties with ancestors from their motherlands. Not long ago I was in the United States, and I immediately sensed this. We will in every way possible promote cultural and spiritual ties with them and will in no case impose upon them our preferences, concerns and problems, nor our positions. Culture should be the fund of rapprochement.

[Correspondent] Are there plans in this regard to begin an exchange?

[Tolstoy] Without a doubt, that would be a fine undertaking. Mutual exchanges would enrich both us and our guests.

Facts Uncovered on Meyerkholt's, Actress Wife's Death

18001002 Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 15
8-15 Apr 89 p 11-12

[Article by Valentin Ryabov, Counsel of Justice, Assistant Moscow Prosecutor: "Case No 537"]

[Text] Recently, the Moscow press has published several articles about Vsevolod Meyerkholt and about the tragic end of the director and his wife Zinaida Raykh. The Meyerkholt Case, fabricated by the NKVD, has long been kept under lock and key. In my work, I had a chance to read it. I want to share with OGONEK's readers what I have learned, previously unknown facts about the last days of the important theater director and the famous actress.

It began in June of last year, when the Moscow Prosecutor's Office received an unusual letter. It came from Sergey Yesenin's daughter, Tatyana Sergeyevna Yesenina, who lives in Tashkent. She reminded us that on the night of July 14, 1939, in Moscow, in her own apartment, her mother Zinaida Nikolayevna Raykh was murdered by unknown criminals. "My stepfather Vsevolod Emilyevich Meyerkholt had been arrested by the NKVD on June 20, 1939, in Leningrad," wrote Tatyana Sergeyevna. "And 25 days later my mother was murdered in her own apartment. The Moscow Criminal Investigations agency (MUR) conducted a long and fruitless investigation. I know that at the time the Western press claimed that Meyerkholt's wife was a victim of the NKVD. I do not know what that claim was based on... Later, during the war, the MUR arrested our neighbors, Bolshoi Theater performer D.D. Golovin and his son. The son was charged with Z.N. Raykh's murder and the father with complicity. Both were convicted but several years later acquitted and released... The Golovin affair was a very crude and obvious fabrication, but all attempts on the part of the Bolshoi's collective to protect one of its members were in vain. Were the real killers ever found?"

Tatyana Sergeyevna wanted the Prosecutor's Office to reopen the case of Raykh's murder and to find the perpetrators.

The job of checking the facts in T.S.Yesenina's letter went to Shavkat Bekovich Shirkhodzhayev, a prosecutor in the department of investigations, who invited me to work with him at my own request.

We sent inquiries to various courts, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the MUR, etc. but received a uniformly negative reply: they had no documents related to the investigation of Z.N.Raykh's murder. We decided to pay a visit to the former military prosecutor of the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office B.V.Ryazhskiy.

"Yes," he admitted, "in 1955, as a very young military prosecutor, I handled the rehabilitation of theater director Meyerkhhold. My task was either to prove or to invalidate the charges made against him by NKVD investigators. I knew that Meyerkhhold's wife had been murdered in her Moscow apartment. It was not part of my job to investigate that crime, but out of professional interest I queried various agencies seeking the folder or some other documents related to the murder, but all my efforts were in vain."

Shirkhodzhayev and I decided to request the files on Meyerkhhold and the Golovins at the archives. Jumping slightly ahead of the story, let me say that the Golovins were convicted in 1943 for "anti-Soviet propaganda and enemy actions against the Soviet State" and indeed had nothing to do with the crime. V.D.Golovin, incidentally, subsequently gained fame as writer-director of the "Blue Light" television shows in the 1960s.

The Central Archives of the USSR KGB sent us two heavy volumes containing the case of V.E.Meyerkhhold. (The second volume contained papers gathered by Ryazhskiy for Meyerkhhold's rehabilitation.)

The case began with the warrant for Meyerkhhold's arrest typed on fine Finnish paper and endorsed by Beriya's personal signature, dated June 19, 1939. The grounds for arrest were as follows (quoting from the warrant): "Meyerkhhold had close ties with the leaders of the counterrevolutionary right group N.I.Bukharin and A.I.Rykov. Arrested Japanese agent Yusida Yosimasu, before illegally crossing the USSR state border, was instructed by Japanese intelligence to contact Meyerkhhold in Moscow on this subject... Information provided by agents and uncovered in the course of the investigation, identifies V.E.Meyerkhhold as a trotskiyite suspected of spying for Japanese intelligence. Mikhail Yefimovich Koltsov, currently in custody, provided the following information during the May 16, 1939 interrogation: Question: 'Name all of Vogel's spy connections in the USSR of which you have knowledge.' Answer: 'Vogel's friends and informers in Moscow are Mikhaylov, the editor of JOURNALE DE MOSCOU, and Meyerkhhold.'"

We were intrigued to find out where the name Yusida Yosimasu came from, in league with whom Meyerkhhold became an agent of Japanese intelligence. After a long search we finally came across a former Japanese subject, and currently a USSR citizen resident in Moscow, Okada Yusiko. Prior to 1938 Okada Yusiko and Yusida Yosimasu (which is his nom de plume, his real name being Sugimoto Riokichi) lived in Japan. Yusida was born in 1907 in Tokyo, a son of a university professor; himself a theater director and translator of Russian literature, he was a member of the Communist Party of Japan and was arrested twice for his progressive activities. Okada Yosiko was a famous movie actress and artist. They escaped to the USSR after a police terror campaign was unleashed against the banned communist party. They hoped to continue their literary and theatrical work in Russia and to meet the world-renowned Soviet director Meyerkhhold in Moscow and get his support. On January 3, 1938, they illegally crossed the Soviet-Japanese border on the island of Sakhalin. They were detained by Soviet border guards on the same day and sent to Aleksandrovsk, then the administrative center of the Soviet part of the island. There they were arrested by the NKVD. Yosida was beaten into admitting that he was "a spy sent to the USSR by the Japanese General Staff. His orders were to contact spy Meyerkhhold and to conduct joint acts of sabotage: for instance, to kill Comrade Stalin when he came to the theater. Incidentally, theater director Sano-Seki, a Japanese citizen working at the Meyerkhhold theater since 1933, is also a Japanese spy and has to be contacted in order to carry out subversive actions." However, Sano-Seki had left the USSR for France in 1937 and later came to America, which Yosida did not know.

Throughout the investigation which took over 18 months to complete, Yusida Yosimasu was tormented by guilt for signing the false statement. On October 22, 1938, he wrote: "Concerning Sano-Seki and Yosi Hidzikato (worked in Moscow at the Revolution Theater). An enormous mistake has been made. I wrote in the city of Aleksandrovsk that Hidzikato and Sano-Seki were spies, but this is not true. During the interrogation on Sakhalin the investigator showed me the issue of the newspaper SOVETSKIY SAKHALIN with the government decree ordering Meyerkhhold's theater closed. I was also told that the theater no longer existed and that Sano-Seki and Hidzikato had already been arrested and were providing information about me. At the time, I had been deprived of sleep for several nights in a row, forced to stand on my feet all the time and close to fainting. Under the influence of these factors I accepted the version about Sano-Seki and Hidzikato. Later I wanted to withdraw this statement but I was not allowed to do so, and I have been forced to sustain this lie until now. Since I believe that to accuse unjustly an innocent person is a greater crime than spying, I categorically request this mistake to be corrected."

But the investigators wanted to correct nothing, and the trial was Yosida's only hope. It too proved illusory. The Military Board sentenced Yosida to be shot. He was

rehabilitated only 20 years later. The fate was kinder to Okada Yosiko. She spent 4 years in the camps; during the war, she was interned in Chkalov (now Orenburg), where she worked as a nurse in a hospital. Only in the late 1940s did she get to Moscow and at the age of 50 entered to the State Theatrical Arts Institute's theater direction department; after graduation, she worked for many years in the imeni V.V.Mayakovskiy Theater.

When Beriya was signing the arrest warrant in blue pencil (the blue pencil meant that Meyerkholt's fate was sealed), Meyerkholt was in his 3-room apartment in Leningrad at Karpovka River Embarkment, No.13. Upon getting Beriya's endorsement, the head of the NKVD investigation department Kobulov immediately telephoned the Leningrad NKVD and ordered Meyerkholt arrested and his apartment searched. On the morning of June 20 Meyerkholt was at home with his sister-in-law A.N.Raykh and her husband V.F.Pshenin. At exactly 9 a.m., operatives of the 3rd Investigations Department of the Leningrad Oblast NKVD Directorate Pogoso and Tyulenev entered the apartment accompanied by building committee chairman Rodin. They showed the search and arrest warrants to Meyerkholt. Having turned the place upside down, they took Meyerkholt to the internal jail of the State Security Administration of the NKVD Directorate.

Meanwhile, in Moscow, in Meyerkholt's apartment at Bryusovskiy Lane, No.12, (now Nezhdanova Street) the search was carried out by operatives from one of the special departments of the NKVD Gorokhov, Lachin, Vlasov and Koptev. They had summoned the super Andrey Sarykov as a representative of the building committee and a witness. Raykh and her son Konstantin Yesenin were at home. When she saw the visitors, Zinaida Nikolayevna became very agitated: "You have no right to search the apartment without my husband. It is illegal. And in addition to the super you must have another witness."

When they began to search her personal belongings she was outraged once again:

"The warrant is for my husband, but you are going through my belongings and papers. You have illegally confiscated my savings book. A report must be made listing every document folder you have taken."

As evidenced by the report attached to the case, which recorded Z.N.Raykh's protests, the most zealous during the apartment search was Vlasov, which is what Zinaida Nikolayevna stated in the report in the column titled Registered Complaints.

Vlasov was subsequently reprimanded by his superiors, but not for being rude and tactless but because "those who are being searched must not enter complaints into reports themselves."

Among objects and papers that were seized, there was an 11-page letter by Zinaida Raykh to Stalin, which was apparently destroyed later.

At the same time, searches were conducted at the country house of the Yesenin family in the village of Gorenki outside Moscow and at Meyerkholt's office at the State Opera Theater imeni Stanislavskiy. During the search, a 6-page letter to Stalin, a letter to Yezhov and an appeal to USSR Prosecutor Vyshinskiy were seized. (Unfortunately, the content of those letters is unknown and they are absent from the file.)

On June 22, at 2 a.m., Meyerkholt was transported from Leningrad to Moscow by train No.59 and on the following day placed in a prison cell at the Lubyanka prison.

Several days later, investigator Kobulov forced Meyerkholt to write in his own hand: "I admit that I am guilty: first, of being a member of an anti-Soviet (trotskiyite) organization in 1923-25, where I was drafted by one Raphail... The ultimate leadership of that organization was unquestionably in Trotskiy's hands. The result of that criminal connection was my subversive work in the theater (one of my productions was even dedicated to the Red Army and "the first Red Army soldier Trotskiy"; it was called "Rearing Earth", a play by S.Tretyakov based on the play "Night" by a French trotskiyite Martine); second, of being a member of an anti-Soviet (right-trotskiyite) organization, where I was drafted by Milyutina. That organization consisted of Milyutin, Radek, Bukharin and the Rykovs. My criminal connection with that organization compelled me to continue my subversive work in staging my productions in the theater; third, of being drawn into espionage work by a certain Fred Gray, a British subject, whom I had met in 1913 and continued to see during the imperialist war until 1917. I renewed our criminal connection in 1928. During my meetings with F.Gray I informed him about work in Soviet theaters."

In reality, the Fred Gray story was as follows—as Meyerkholt himself admitted during a later interrogation: Fred Gray lived in Russia until the February revolution and was married to a Russian woman who studied at Meyerkholt's theater studio. After the February revolution Gray and his family went to England. Meyerkholt stated: "In the late 1920s, when I was in France, I met Gray's wife in Paris where she lived while her husband stayed in England. All our conversations were exclusively about the theater. Gray himself was a great lover of the theater but he worked in the area of finance or medium-sized business. That was the reason why he last came here in 1933 or 1934. To be frank, I did not know much about his business which was completely alien to me. We only spoke about the theater."

In his Lubyanka cell Meyerkholt was allowed to take notes and he was asked to falsely incriminate as many of his friends as possible; to the detective's great disappointment it did not happen. In his notes he described

his theater productions and visits to the theater at various times by Stalin, Molotov, Trotskiy, Kamenev, Radek, Kaganovich, Frunze, Budyonnyy and others. Among other details, he mentioned how "Bukharin, who on another occasion came to see the play 'Mandate', praised the production but disagreed with the play's ending and proposed to change it. As I was convinced that my solution for the ending was correct, I saw no need to change it."

Finally, Kobulov's patience ran out; having gathered all those notes and inscribed in purple pencil (the bosses had a passion for colored pencils): "To Voronin and Serikov, talk to him, urgent", he passed the case to Voronin.

As far as can be understood, Voronin had very detailed instructions how to handle suspects and, it appears, also applied himself to inventing more sophisticated torture methods; on January 13, 1940, from the Butyrka prison, Meyerkhhold wrote that famous complaint addressed to Molotov, then Chairman of the Council of the People's Commissars, which shocked today's readers: "I have been beaten here, me, an ailing 65-year-old. They put me on the floor face down and lashed me with a rubber rope on the soles of my feet and on my back; they put me in a chair and hit me with the same rope very hard on the legs, from the knees to the upper parts of the thighs. On the following days, when those parts of my legs were covered with copious contusions, they hit those red blue and yellow bruises with the same rubber rope."

On the morning of July 8 Voronin summoned Meyerkhhold for an interrogation lasting 18 hours. The extremely detailed record of the interrogation, taken down in short-hand in a question and answer format, shows to us the level of legal competence of the interrogator. Here is a selection of typical questions put by the senior investigator of the investigations department of the NKVD to suspect Meyerkhhold: "For a number of years you were a double-crossing bastard and were engaged in anti-Soviet activities. Is it not so? Why did that enemy book (meaning Trotskiy's "On the Cultural Front" [author's note]) have so much influence on you? Your special loyalty to traitor Trotskiy is well-known; enough of that, talk about your subversive actions. Tell me about your anti-Soviet relations with the above-mentioned individuals. You have not told us everything about your treasonable work yet, far from it. Why do you conceal your spy connections?"

Meyerkhhold's answers pleased the investigator less and less. Finally, he resorted to deception. Relying on the suspect's weak physical condition and his own ability to dominate him psychologically by almost daily torture, Voronin dictated to the stenographer his own text, in a form in which he needed it: "Ilya Erenburg directly raised the issue of my membership in the trotskiyite organization, and I agreed to join. After that, Erenburg spoke about the goals of our trotskiyite organization. Listening to Erenburg I became convinced that we

should not lose heart after the recent arrests of a number of trotskiyites but continue to persistently and consistently carry out our work against the party. I do not deny that in that same year, 1937, on Erenburg's orders, I personally drafted Boris Pasternak and Yuriy Olesha into the trotskiyite organization. Olesha was very close to subsequently uncovered enemies of the people writer Stenich and director Dikiy (both in custody). This information was a weighty consideration for inviting Pasternak and Olesha to join the trotskiyite organization and to order them to carry out certain enemy activities.' Question (Voronin): 'Answer directly, without evasion, what tasks you gave to Pasternak and Olesha.' Answer: 'I told Pasternak to gather writers who held anti-Soviet views with an eye for drafting them into our trotskiyite organization. I named writers Vsevolod Ivanov and Konstantin Fedin as anti-Soviet enough to participate in our organization's struggle against the leadership of the party and the Soviet government.'

In the Butyrka prison on December 13, 1939, Meyerkhhold wrote the following complaint to the USSR Prosecutor about these methods: "The information I have given is a lie. I falsely incriminated myself (I slandered myself). I withdraw my false statement which I was forced to make (I was pressured). I lied and the investigator took down those lies and embellished some responses, and some other ones he himself dictated to the stenographer, and I signed everything."

Having obtained the required statements, Voronin returned the suspect to his cell. Meyerkhhold did not know, and was never to know, that at the same time, in his apartment on Bryusovskiy Lane, a 10-minute walk from Lubyanka, another tragedy was being played out, the continuation of his own one.

On the previous day, two men had rung and entered Zinaida Nikolayevna Raykh's apartment. They introduced themselves as NKVD operatives. Under the pretext of checking whether the seal on the door of the director's study was still intact, they cased the apartment as though trying to sniff out who else was there besides Raykh. The son Konstantin was in Ryazan Oblast and the daughter Tatyana at the country house outside Moscow. The only other person in the apartment was the maid, Lidiya Anisimovna Chernetskaya, who had come to Moscow from a Volga village to escape the famine. The men broke the seal on the Meyerkhhold's room, checked the balcony door which NKVD operatives themselves had left open after the search, surveyed everything carefully, sealed the room again without locking the inner lock and left.

Zinaida Nikolayevna was sitting at a small table in her room. She had no money for food and decided to pawn her government bonds. She took them out of the box and started to count them, trying to decide which ones to pawn.

At the same time, two males rounded the house, entered the courtyard and climbed onto the roof of a tool shed and over the banister of the balcony. They entered the study, pushed the door open, ran through the corridor past the curtain where the maid was sleeping and burst into Zinaida Nikolayevna's room. She was still at the small table. The two ran up to her; one grabbed her hands and the other started to stab her in the chest with a knife. The maid was awoken by the screams; she ran out, but was hit over the head with a sharp object and fell down unconscious. One of the attackers escaped through the balcony, the other opened the front door and ran downstairs, having slammed the door shut. The noise made Andrey Sarykov, the super, look out of his cellar window. He saw the two men dive into a long black automobile which then drove out through the courtyard gate onto Gorkiy Street. Having gotten no answer at the Meyerkhoulds' door, Sarykov put a stepladder to the kitchen window and thus got into the apartment. When he saw the two women lying there bleeding, he called an ambulance. In the ambulance, the doctor tried to help Zinaida Nikolayevna but she told him: "Leave me alone, doctor, I am dying." She died en route to the hospital. She had eight stabbing wounds.

The actress' funeral took place on July 18 and was quite modest, to say the least. A directive to keep things quiet came from above and actor Moskvina told the dead woman's father: "The public refuses to participate in your daughter's funeral." Raykh was buried at the Vagankovskiy cemetery. Immediately after the funeral, NKVD operatives unceremoniously began taking out furniture, books and kitchen utensils from the apartment. Tatyana and Konstantin Yesenin were told that they were being evicted and it was up to them how they would manage, whereas the apartment would become NKVD property—even though it was a cooperative building (the first cooperative in Moscow built in 1928 [author's note]) and the apartment had been paid off in full by Meyerkhould. Appeals, letters and visits to high officials were fruitless.

The maid Chernetskaya's wound was not serious and she was discharged after a few days at the hospital. By then, Meyerkhould's apartment was already empty and sealed. Chernetskaya went to the Yesenins' house in Gorenki and settled in the small kitchen. Some time later NKVD operatives came there and arrested the woman who had barely recovered from the previous shock. The investigation was short: she was mainly asked whether or not she could identify her mistress' attackers. But the woman, who had been scared to death, could recall no one. The former maid was sent to the camps to atone for God knows what crimes.

A month after Raykh's murder, construction workers, plasterers and painters came to the apartment. The 5-room apartment was divided into two separate ones, each with its own entrance. In October 1939, a young and beautiful woman moved into the 3-room apartment

and Beriia's personal chauffeur into the other, 2-room one. The chauffeur, however, exchanged that present for another apartment 2 months later.

On January 24, 1940, the investigator brought the file, together with the indictment prepared in advance, to the Main Military Prosecutor's Office. He met there with pro-tempore Chief Military Prosecutor Afanasyev.

A quote from the indictment: "In 1934-35 Meyerkhould became involved in espionage work. As an agent for British and Japanese intelligence, he carried out active espionage work directed against the USSR. He is accused of being a professional trotskiyite, an active member of a trotskiyite organization active among artists and an agent of British and Japanese intelligence and carrying out espionage and subversive work: his crimes fall under Articles 51-1A and 58-11 of the RSFSR Penal Code."

Afanasyev, just like Beriia six months before, took a blue pencil and wrote. "Indictment approved. Case submitted to the Military Board for hearing in accordance with the law of December 1, 1934."

Meyerkhould was given a copy of the indictment at the Butyrka prison on his birthday, January 28, and on January 31 the chairman of the Military Board of the USSR Supreme Court V. Ulrikh reviewed the case as part of the preliminary hearing and wrote the following sacrilegious statement from the point of view of due process rules: "The case will be heard at a closed court session without representatives of the judiciary control board, without counsels for the defense and without calling witnesses." On that day Meyerkhould was transferred from the Butyrka prison to the cellar of the Military Board building.

The court session took place on February 1. Again: "Being a trotskiyite himself, he was connected with active trotskiyites, headed an anti-Soviet trotskiyite group, established organizational ties with agents of British and Japanese intelligence, etc." "The court sentences Meyerkhould Vsevolod Emilyevich, to the supreme form of punishment: to be shot and all his personal property confiscated. The sentence is final and is not subject to appeals."

The next day, February 2, a shot was fired in the cellar. Vsevolod Emilyevich Meyerkhould was no more. On the same day, Boyarskiy-Shimkevich and Mikhail Koltsov were also shot. The victims' bodies were removed secretly, by night. The butchers did not like to advertise their work. It is still a secret what they did with the bodies. One of the chief butchers, Ulrikh, was promoted to General of Justice after the war and died of natural causes. He was buried at the Novodevichye cemetery with lavish honors.

On November 26, 1955, Vsevolod Meyerkhod was posthumously rehabilitated. Charges against him were found to be fabricated and the criminal case No.537 was dismissed for lack of crime.

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Georgian Stage Production Recalls Era of Stalinist Repressions

18000688 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
9 Feb 89 p 4

[Roundtable discussion conducted by correspondent Vera Tsereteli, with Eteri Gugushvili, rector, Georgian Theater Institute imeni S. Rustaveli, Varvara Nikolaishvili, doctor of art criticism, and Vazha Okudzhava, academician, Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences: "Time in Captivity. 'Fear'—On the Stage of the State Academic Theater imeni K. Mardzhanishvili"]

[Text] At the end of last season, when the show "Fear" was prepared for release at the Theater imeni K. Mardzhanishvili, everything was in doubt: who would be interested now in a play by A. Afinogenov, written in 1930 and based on the events of that time? The ordinary viewer knew nothing about the play, and the specialists remembered the reader stagings of MKhAT, the Leningrad Drama Theater, the Theater imeni K. Mardzhanishvili, and other shows of the 1930s, after which the play was simply forgotten. Most likely, the one-sided treatment of this play, dictated by the times, did not evoke among directors a desire to re-read it, to help it out of nonexistence. The conflict of the play is structured on the struggle of the new cadres of Soviet science and the worker and peasant "promotees," against the old generation of scientists. Of course, the new scientific ideas, based on class concepts, prevailed. The times did not permit other interpretations of the play.

The present-day show by the Mardzhanovites has nothing in common with the former treatment. It gives rise to a mass of associations and bitter thoughts. However, this is not pessimism, it is a courageous, realistic, honest look at the past and at our present. The most valuable thing in the show is its high social and civic expression.

We do not want to limit ourselves only to a critical analysis of the show, the more so now, when the director, M. Kuchukhidze, and the actors of the central roles, G. Gabuniya and O. Megvinetukhutsesi, have been awarded the "Contemporaneity and the Theater" Prize of the Union of Theater Leaders for the best work of the season.

For your attention, we offer a roundtable discussion of the show "Fear," in which Eteri Gugushvili, rector, Georgian Theater Institute imeni S. Rustaveli, Varvara Nikolaishvili, and Vazha Okudzhava, academician, Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences, participate.

[Correspondent] Director Medeya Kuchukhidze has discerned the text of the play through the layer of "reader gloss" and has opened up for us that which the author wanted to say to his descendants about his time, his doubts, alarm and troubles. This was all in the play, but in the years of the first Stalinist 5-year period, what kind of doubts could it be a question of? Optimistic marches thundered out, posters shouted—in order to muffle the pain, the doubts...

[Nikolaishvili] Of course, this interpretation of the play could only be staged now, when the opportunity has appeared to look at the past and truly evaluate both its victories, as well as its tragic errors. I remember that time and, it seems to me, there is not even a shadow of exaggeration in the transmission of the events in the show. The arrest of Professor Borodin, who spoke of the coming of an "age of great fear," and of his friends and pupils, their interrogations and forced "confessions," this atmosphere of suspicion and denunciations, and denunciatory newspaper articles, signed by labor shock workers and former domestic servants, the helplessness and lack of rights of intelligent people in the face of an onslaught of unbridled ignorance and boorishness—it may be impossible to show all of this to today's viewer. However, this all existed. Medeya Kuchukhidze's show is distinguished by a properly placed director's accent. It is not grotesque. It is a courageous look at that era, at the burdens of life and repressions of those years. It is a reaction to truth.

[Okudzhava] I think that the fact that they not simply exterminated people, but also their names, was particularly frightening about that time. They expunged the memory of people itself. After all, it was generally forbidden to mention many of the outstanding leaders who had been repressed and shot: they were simply named "enemy of the people."

In the finale of the show, when you watch Professor Borodin, this shadow of a former aristocrat in a quilted jacket and cap with earflaps, with his frowning, mumbling mouth, broken and destroyed as an individual, is it really possible not to experience terror for all the victims of the GULAG?

[Gugushvili] You have touched on a painful topic for me as well. This is the pain of the entire intelligentsia of Georgia. My family was also among the victims of the repressions.

Thus we lived—under fear and people's scorn: the family of an "enemy of the people!" They transferred me and children like me, as "the enemy breed," to a different school, since Beriya's son was studying in the senior classes, and it would have been "inappropriate" for us to be together with him. This trauma remained with me for my whole life...

This is why the play is so close to me. This was the fate of my own loved ones, my fate, in its artistic form, if it is possible to express it thus. I never ceased to be amazed by how Afinogenov was able in those years to bring up the problem of fear and see the essence of the era itself within it.

[Correspondent] It would seem, why must we now, many years later, stir up the past? Most likely, in order to examine our own histories, to understand ourselves and everything that has happened and, in the final account, to predict the future. Pasternak's saying, "In a distant echo, I catch that which is happening in my century," remains true for all time... We watch the theater stage and trace the life re-created on it, the actors' transformations of O. Megvinetukhutsesi, G. Gabuniya, N. Chikvinidze, and K. Kiknadze, the chain of events, penetratingly seen by Afinogenov, and an idea is persistently beaten into us: were all the "sacrificial victims" that were required from people of the era really so necessary? How should we live now, so that false idols do not shield the truth from us, so that the same suffering and degradation is not visited on us as well?

[Okudzhava] In the show we see with our own eyes, what an entire generation was turned into, how fates were maimed.

[Nikolaishvili] However, it is most terrible when we see what the child turned into, the little Pioneer girl from whom, essentially, childhood was stolen, and whose ordinary human feelings were distorted and warped, replaced by a kind of mechanical indifference of slogans. They cultivated not individuals out of children, but "rifles." The actress Eka Mzhavanadze was able precisely and very finely to transmit this monstrous force of squeezing out everything human in a child.

[Gugushvili] Not only were fates maimed, but also the people themselves, their mentality. I am not only referring to those who fell victim to arbitrariness, but also those who remained at liberty. There was no "liberty," and there could not be. The people lived in a vise-grip, they wrote in a vise-grip, and they existed as though in pistol duel and that is why they sometimes made compromises, simply preserving their own lives and the lives of their children. One of the main operating aspects of life was fear, and the Mardzhanovites' show reflected this.

[Nikolaishvili] This is also apparent in the set design by artists G. Aleksi-Meskhishvili and Sh. Glurdzhidze—the featureless, cold, metallic beams, linked among themselves and forming cage bars, obviously traces the idea that everything is squeezed in a vise. Everything was subordinate to the dictat of a certain all-overwhelming force. The slogans are yet another topic of the time. Their brilliant eloquence contrasts with the dark metal lattice-work. It is no accident that Borodin's monologue on fear became the central scene of the show, its main point. Otar Megvinetukhutsesi so precisely, faithfully

and richly acted this scene, that we involuntarily agree with him: yes, fear—this is the main problem of the era. In this role, the actor reveals his own tremendous creative range. We have become used to seeing Megvinetukhutsesi in a tragic, heroic light, but here it turns out that the reserve of his actor's fund of expressiveness also includes humor and slyness, and now and then he act like a character actor.

[Correspondent] This aspect of the actor's gift was displayed most brilliantly, in my opinion, in "*Provincial Story*," also produced by Kuchukhidze. In connection with this, it seems to me, an "outsider's" opinion would also be interesting—that of the writer from the U.S., Doris Platt, who, after watching the Mardzhanovites' show, said in a discussion:

"The show '*Fear*' produced an enormous impression of courage and topicality, by a wonderful acting ensemble. I would particularly like to note the brilliant, temperamental, and voluminous acting by Guranda Gabuniya. I could compare her to Anna Manyana. The multifaceted nature of Otar Megvinetukhutsesi, who was seen together with Gabuniya in '*Provincial Story*,' is striking. I rate the direction of Medeya Kuchukhidze very highly. I will write about the show '*Fear*' in detail in my book about Georgia."

It should also be noted that the show's sharpness of expression would have been impossible without taking our present-day experience in interpreting the past into account. Thanks to this, the show has acquired the breadth of generalizations and quite another scale of expression.

[Gugushvili] However, it is quite interesting that Medeya Kuchukhidze changed nothing in the text. Except for a few cuts, she only read, revealed and felt it in a new way. She has also shown her active, passionate attitude toward the events. Indeed, in the new tragic interpretation, today these words of the play resound: "It is impossible to trust anyone. Even friends will betray," "Exterminate fear, and you will see how the country will flourish," "They are arresting me..." etc.—one cannot count them all. On the whole, this leads to sad thoughts and gives rise to soberness of judgments. Many virtually re-live "those" days anew.

[Okudzhava] True, the show forces many to remember and think about a great deal. I, a biologist and physiologist, research the activity of the brain. This work is similar to that which Professor Borodin did, and I cannot help but be concerned about the problems touched on in the show. Unfortunately, they make themselves known even now. Professor Borodin, who has everything—talent, knowledge, experience—is declared an enemy of the people and scientifically groundless, but the absurd ideas of some graduate student "promotees" are hailed as the discovery of advanced Soviet science. After all, this is not a situation dreamed up by the author. This all happened in reality.

Vavilov, Koltsov, the physiologist Orbeli, Beritashvili, and Anokhin were declared followers of bourgeois science, but the false scientists, such as Lysenko and Lepeshinskaya, triumphed. We know how expensive this was for our science. Its development was obstructed for many, many years. Essentially, creativity was forbidden, it was forbidden to think. What about the fate of Borodin's students, which Kuchukhidze conjectured? After all, a tragedy also lies in the fact that a galaxy of true scientists, pushed aside from science or simply "removed," were unable to remain students themselves afterwards.

We should understand that without the intelligentsia we cannot be civilized.

[Correspondent] It is interesting that Blok identified the concept of "humanist" with the concept of "intellectual." It seems to me, that the human, ethical and moral aspect of the concept "intellectual" is quite insufficient here today.

[Okudzhava] I would say that the word "intellectual" cannot exist without another—"morality." Observing Makarova's "ascent" in the play, one realizes with terror how easily unworthy people strive for their own. In this regard, the less gifted a person, the easier it is for him to undertake work beyond his strength. Instead of Borodin, Makarova becomes director of the institute. She represents Soviet science abroad, when it was her vocation to be a cook. The director emphasizes this in Makarova's first appearance before the audience: Makarova is washing a floor—how deftly she does this, how capably she handles the mop! I do not know where and in what fragments Guranda Gabuniya found the features of her heroine, but she has created a collective image as a result.

[Correspondent] There is yet another nagging idea which gives no peace. After the show, we sense even more acutely how much we have lost. After all, what can grow in soil, where humaneness, mores, and morality were forgotten in order to please the class struggle, where

intelligent, talented, intellectual people perished under the pressure of shameless upstarts, where the mass attack of the "future boor" is so clear and terrible?!

The show's finale generates this feeling of orphanhood and emptiness, when the "young builders of the earth" step victoriously to the exultant sounds of a march with Makarova at the head, and in the background the corpse of Borodin's daughter, who hung herself, swings rhythmically, and Borodin himself aloofly, mechanically adds himself to the march and incomprehensibly mutters about his return to the institute. Seeing all of this, we painfully sense how difficult it is even now to rid ourselves of the ways of the past. After all, no borders exist, once and for all separating the past from the present. It inevitably penetrates even into the present day.

You know, Medeya Kuchukhidze said that once after the show in the wings an unfamiliar woman approached, congratulated her and, in the end, added: "I just cannot understand, how you found out what is going on at our institute."

[Okudzhava] Indeed, there is something to the point that people like Makarova are not only on the stage, but maybe are also around us? And, you note, sometimes they have everything—both position and power. Is this not why there are not the necessary dynamics in the development of society right now? This concerns all areas of intellectual life. The whole trouble is that the descendants of Makarova have become more experienced and trickier. They have created a modern bureaucratic stratum which competently shields itself with slogans and the most eloquent words. Yet, in fact, their only goal is to snatch somewhat greater wealth for themselves. This show forces us not only to think, but also to mobilize ourselves to try to resist them all.

[Gugushvili] The show also teaches us how necessary it is today to have a sensitive attitude toward the people who create spiritual values. Are there really so few opposite examples even in our day? We can see how necessary this play was. It is contemporary and timely. There is so much spiritual pain in it. Pain for Man!

Organization to Fight Disasters Proposed
18000948 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
in Russian 29 Apr 89 p 2

[Report by SOVETSKAYA KULTURA Own Correspondent O. Gusev: "A Job for the Bold Ones"]

[Text] Kiev-Chernobyl—On April 26 at the Dinamo Stadium several thousand people gathered for a meeting "Chernobyl: Remembrance and Caution." At the meeting there resounded an appeal by Hero of Socialist Labor Yu. Samoylenko to create an All-Union Organization to Combat Natural Disasters.

April 26 is the third anniversary of the Chernobyl accident, whose main lesson, according to Yu. Samoylenko, candidate for People's Deputy of the USSR, is still slowly being learned.

Yu. N. Samoylenko is a native of Chelyabinsk. He gained engineering experience at the Smolensk AES [atomic power station]. He was the first person to climb onto the roof of the Chernobyl plant's engine room. He did this when no one yet suspected how high the level of radiation had become.

I can tell you that I witnessed those frightening scenes. I saw a man arrayed in protective clothing, transferring blocks of radioactive granite and pieces of reinforced concrete with a shovel and serving as a living illustration that there were no alternatives. Yu. Samoylenko, along with a group of those who most distinguished themselves, was awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labor.

Displaying true personal courage in the first stage of dangerous work, Yuriy Nikolayevich stayed at the atomic plant. He tied his own fate to that of the plant.

I saw the name Yu. Samoylenko on the list of candidates for the People's Deputies of the USSR for the Kiev national-territorial district, where repeat elections are taking place. His candidacy was forwarded by a collective from the Institute of Theoretical Physics of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

Yu. Samoylenko now heads what is so far the only operations association [proizvodstvennoye ob'yedineniye] in the world.

"The purpose of the operations association," says Samoylenko, "is to quickly, and according to a rigorously devised plan, eradicate the effects of various kinds of serious accidents. The most important thing is not just that. We want to create a kind of 'anti-natural disaster model.'"

Why is this necessary? If only because before the Chernobyl accident, both in this country and abroad, no single government service such as an "emergency corps" for unforeseen circumstances existed. The absence of a dependable "shield," with which the government can at

any time protect its citizens from unforeseeable disasters, leads in turn to an unnecessary waste of power and resources. This is what happened at Chernobyl and in Armenia—I saw it myself—when on the spur tracks to the zone of the disaster trains stood for weeks, filled with equipment, while at the same time the cities destroyed by the earthquake were in need of cranes.

Eradicating the after-effects of a ChP [serious accident] requires a lightning-speed reaction. This is why the main point of Yu. Samoylenko's campaign platform concerns the creation of a state service for efficient response to any kind of major accident. A relatively small collective, headed by Yu. Samoylenko, is taking measures to ensure the withdrawal from operation of aging atomic power stations. This work is still unfolding, but its dimensions are formidable. The Chernobyl specialists already face the prospect of having to withdraw the Armenian AES from operation in the near future. According to Yu. Samoylenko, one of the most important lessons of the Chernobyl accident is that it is essential at the crucial moment to recognize on a government level the true complexity of a mishap which suddenly occurs and to immediately put into action an "emergency corps," which should be equipped with the latest word in technology and equipment.

The voters actively support the plans of their candidate.

'Democratic Union' Origins, Leaders Described
18000760 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 26 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by Professor V. Trushkov, head, Scientific Communism Department, Moscow Higher Party School, doctor of philosophical sciences: "Lesson in Democracy: A Scientist Answers Readers. Through the Famous Donut With a Hole"]

[Text] Tell me in more detail in the newspaper what kind of party has formed in Moscow under the name of the Democratic Union, about its platform, purposes and program? It seems to me, and not just me, it is hard from the talk to understand why some people severely criticize this union, while others praise it.

[Signed] Yu. Sadykov, Mulyanka, Perm Oblast.

Its creators are concealing yet another mask under a democratic gloss. The Democratic Union was announced about a year ago in the capital. In past months, the MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA editors have received dozens of readers' letters, voicing different opinions about this organization. There are not really that many letters, but the problems in them are greater: socialism and democracy. After all, the Democratic Union, which these letters are about, is concerned with maximum democracy... However, its position leads some readers to irritation and indignation, while others fall into a touching ecstasy on the same subject. To substantiate this, let me quote two letters. A. Chemenov:

"The organizers, financed by the CIA, have created the DU, i.e., the Democratic Union, and at any moment it might turn into any other group, like a werewolf... And now they demand power!" A. Dedekayev: "If one compares the intelligence of Valeriya Ilinichna Novodvorskaya (one of the leaders of the DU—V.T.) to that of the journalists who have written about her, there is an insuperable gap between them. Valeriya Ilinichna could trust them only to sharpen pencils, and this would conform to reality..."

I do not know the sources of such servility, but it is just as nauseating, as it is essentially artificial. Incidentally, the fanatic paranoia of the first letter is no more pleasant. However, this is not the point right now—it is a question of the organization which has given rise to such contradictory viewpoints.

In the "Declaration of the Democratic Union," its organizers openly stated: "At this time, we define the content of our activity as the political opposition of the existing social order." In the so-called "journal version" of the "basic program principles uniting the DU members," the "condemnation of the system of political government, which arose in October 1917,... and rejection of the ideology of Leninism" is announced. It proposes replacing the Soviet system with parliamentarianism, extensively introducing the private ownership of production means in economics, and in ideology it advocates agitation for a different social order. A questionnaire, recently distributed by the DU among Muscovites, raises openly provocative questions: "Would you openly confront authority? What is your attitude toward the possibility of emigrating?"

The significance of democracy for the spiritual well-being of Soviet people is unprecedented today. The words being said correspond to the people's desires and interests, if only because people have become tired of the years-long practice of speaking in the name of the people, while forgetting to ask them. We are tired of Stalinism, which ruled completely, unjustly, and cruelly for a quarter century and has still kept its metastases to this day. Yet, if one delves a bit deeper, it becomes apparent that we are now devoted to democracy not only because we missed it, but even more so because the present-day problems cannot be solved without it.

The urgent need to democratize society not only forces the politicians and scientists, but also millions of people to think about this. And to seek reliable guarantees of the irreversibility of democratization. Unfortunately, party propaganda sometimes answers these vital questions very superficially or unintelligibly. But the questions are sharp and impartial. One reader, N. Yeregin, asks: "How does the party itself show its worth through its 'leaders' who 'err'?" "Stalin, Yezhov, and Vyshinskiy 'erred,' Brezhnev 'erred,' and so did many, many others, but are the many millions of people who call themselves communists really unanimously mistaken?"

Meanwhile, as we anxiously seek reasons why the party was unable to resist the dictatorial ways of "Uncle Joe" and his spiritual descendants, the Democratic Union, using all these bitter facts in our history, palms off its own analysis of the past with a conjurer's ease: "Since October 1917, we have been gradually deprived of freedom, but for the time being we have not been deprived of it entirely, and this has predetermined the entire future course of our country's history..."

Anyone with a good memory would say: similar things have been heard—from the Mensheviks, Churchill, Hitlerite propaganda, and anti-Soviets of all stripes. True, in this sense, the Declaration of the Democratic Union is a repetition of the past. That is why the DU documents repeat a disdain for historical facts. Even the Mensheviks in 1917 spoke of the critical nature and hopelessness of Russia's socioeconomic situation. Precisely therefore, at the 1st All-Russian Congress of Soviets in June 1917, I. Tsereteli claimed that in such a difficult situation not a single party would be found, ready to take responsibility for the country. After 3 months, the Menshevik-S.R. TsIK acknowledged the "complete hopelessness of the central agencies formed in the government for regulating economic life" in its resolution. Even Cadet V. Shulgin, evaluating the situation at that time, agreed that the October Revolution was the only possible exit from catastrophe for Russia. However, the present-day DU turns out to be noticeably further right of the political position of the prominent leader of the big business counter-revolutionary party.

The DU organizers are also capable of outright falsification. Last September they circulated a leaflet, "70 Years Since the Start of the Red Terror." Here is its introduction: "On 5 September 1918, the Bolshevik government, seeing no other possibility for keeping the power taken from the people, announced the introduction of the Red Terror." Halting briefly for evaluation's sake (the historical sources of the thesis of the anti-people's Bolshevik Revolution was already stated above), we will only address the facts: who unleashed the terror? As everyone knows, 5 September occurs 1 week after 30 August. At that time, on the morning of 30 August, M.S. Uritskiy was killed by S.R. terrorists, and V.I. Lenin was seriously wounded that evening. Thus, the terror was unleashed from around the corner not by the Bolsheviks—they only openly announced their own retaliatory actions. This leaflet declares V.I. Lenin to be the originator and founder of the terror. I do not even want to mention that he was in serious condition on 5 September 1918. I want to talk about falsification again. The leaflet's authors, to be convincing, indicated the pages of Leninist volumes, where the introduction of the Red Terror of 5 September 1918 is allegedly substantiated. Let us open these pages (since the leaflet's authors, apparently, did not count on this). It turns out that instead of justifying the terror, on 27 November 1918 V.I. Lenin had already defined it as "simply foolishness, an insufficient understanding of the tactics of Marxism." In the other two cases, the terror simply is not mentioned. Yet, in May 1922 there was a

speech which really is about the justification of the terror, applied by a court in cases of "aiding that part of the international bourgeoisie which does not acknowledge the equal rights of the communist system of property, which is coming to replace capitalism, and strives towards its forcible conquest either by intervention, blockade, espionage, financing the press, or by other means."

However, similar points exist in the criminal codes of any state, except that the term "terror" is replaced with politer and less offensive words.

Why do the organizers of the DU need such distortion? Possibly, the point lies not only in a desire to discredit October, Lenin, and Soviet power. What if the intention is more pragmatic? Let us read the Union's documents again. They claim that the DU rejects violence.

However, here is a direct appeal made by V. Novodvorskaya, published by the Riga newspaper SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH. I quote: "Either in the near future we will all manage to achieve the fall of this regime (Soviet power—V.T.)... or we can expect a new paroxysm of terror... We openly refuse to obey the communist dictatorship and invite you to do this as well. Only open disobedience can force them to yield!"

Here is a letter from 27-year old mechanic A. Datsenko. He asks an important question. "On what grounds is the DU considered anti-Soviet and anti-socialist?" We just noted some, and very serious, grounds for these claims. Read the Union's program documents. Their authors do not hide their own anti-Soviet attitudes. Their dream is not a Soviet system, but a parliamentary democracy. It seems, the immunity of today's contemporaries to the Democratic Union's anti-Soviet statements has weakened, because in the recent stagnant years our mass consciousness turned out to be fertile soil for the petty bourgeois virus of parliamentarianism. Democratization, started on the Communist Party's initiative and taking place with great difficulty and contradictorily, has not yet created an injection against the virus and has not even localized it. Here, the supporters of the Democratic Union, by way of democracy, already not only conceive of even a West European parliament, which very accurately reflects the bourgeois economic system, but of a presidential republic, which is inferior to the bourgeois parliament in terms of level of democracy.

A reader asks: is it worth being alarmed about this position on the part of one's fellow citizens during the time of pluralism of opinions? It is. We must clearly realize that bourgeois parliamentarianism and the presidential republic oppose the essence and nature of soviets. The parliamentary and presidential systems are attractive to those of us who doubt the possibility any longer of putting the revolutionary ideal of full power for the soviets into practice at the present stage. So then, political eclecticism comes unraveled about the corners.

One must give them their due: the organizers of the DU are consistent. They do not simply prefer the system of bourgeois parliamentarianism to Soviet power, but are concerned about its serious economic foundation. They see it, of course, in private property. At first—along with state and collective property. However, this is only the start, for which "the proportion of the state sector in society will be reduced by transferring and selling state enterprises to other sectors." Perhaps October is not to their liking because it replaced the sovereignty of private property and the exploitation of man by man, based on it? At least, obviously pre-October expressions and motives are found in the DU documents.

Let us read the thesis of the DU on the legal system carefully. It should provide for the conversion "to law and order as a state basis for the existence of extensive individual rights and freedoms, to the creation of adequate normative, institutional and material guarantees and incentives for their full use by all citizens, regardless of any kind of difference in political and other convictions, social origin, social and property status, race and nationality, sex, language, attitude toward religion, place of residence, or other circumstances."

A most remarkable thesis! If that in it which coincides the current CPSU requirements for restructuring the legal system (the Democratic Union is not among the authors of this) is omitted, that which remains is clearly disadvantageous for the DU organizers to over-emphasize. One asks: why are they concerned that there be no limitations on social origin? Who has suffered from this after October? Landowners and capitalists (we will not discuss "de-kulaking," under the pretext of which Stalin conducted his repressions, now—these were condemned by society)? Does the DU plan to return them to us? We have not yet forgotten what equal political rights, regardless of property status, signify. It was precisely October that deprived the "propertied classes," in other words, the exploiters, of political rights.

If one assumes that the creators of the DU dream of restoring landowners and capitalists (and the quotations from their documents give grounds for such assumptions), then, of course, one party—the Communist Party—is, undoubtedly, not enough for them. They then need not only Social Democrats, Democratic Christians, liberals, etc. (the draft Statutes of the DU suggest precisely joining these into their union), but also SRs, Cadets, and even Octobrists. This has existed before, and the formula for this kind of political system is well known: a donut for one, and the donut hole for another, and that is a democratic republic for you. The workers and peasants were sated with this donut hole in abundance back in pre-October times. They also will not accept replacements of popular power with the worship of leaders from all times and peoples. Our socialist democracy does not lie in the aborted parties of bourgeois parliamentarianism. Its main policy is the genuine democracy of the Soviet state and the CPSU. However, this is the topic of a special discussion. No, a democratic

gloss will not do for the mask of the DU. However, this mask will tickle the nerves of some Muscovites, so long as the shortage of democracy remains, so long as it is possible to speculate on real errors and shortcomings. And so long as the current criticism in DU documents, alas, conforms in many ways to reality. Except that, as opposed to the DU, the Soviet people are indignant at any injustice, and not as outside observers. No, as A. Khalmuratov writes, "We must re-forge the energy of indignation into energy for the struggle for restructuring."

Komsomol People's Deputies Enumerate Youth Problems, Endorse Draft Law on Youth Policy
18001074 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 May 89 p 1

[Open letter by O. Yegorov and others: "Oh, Youth...: An Open Letter by the USSR People's Deputies from the Komsomol"]

[Text] The first working meeting of the young USSR People's Deputies from the Komsomol—our first acquaintanceship on the job—was both a learning experience and a seeking out of priorities for the upcoming activity by the deputies. What should we concentrate our efforts on? What should we begin with? These, perhaps, were the main questions. Proven useful during these days were our meetings with the provision youth collective entitled "Youth Law" under the VKSh [Higher Komsomol School] Scientific Research Center under the Komsomol Central Committee. It was characteristic for the developers of the draft law entitled "On State Youth Policy in the USSR" that this document was written not in the quiet of studies or offices but rather in a constant dialogue with young persons. But that is not all. The developers of this draft did not "think up" the youth problems in their "juridical packaging," but instead relied on the data from scientific investigator studies on youth, many of which had remained untapped by practitioners for a long time inasmuch as it was accepted policy to consider that young persons had no problems in our country.

In point of fact, can we trust the myth, implanted long ago by Stalin, that "the road is clear for youth everywhere in our country"?

For many years now some persons in our society have been delighted by the labor accomplishment of young persons, while others scold youth for being parasitical. The same thing could probably be said about any other group of working people. There are different kinds of people in our country. But is it really correct that a young person under 30 years of age should receive an average wage of 120-140 rubles a month, whereas for the country as a whole during 1988 the average wage exceeded 200 rubles a month?

The situation of young mothers is even worse: only 11 percent of them have incomes as high as 90 rubles a month, while the overwhelming majority of the others earn even less. How can a student family make ends meet on a stipend for two which amounts to 80-90 rubles a month? How about housing, if for a person at the age of 28, as sociological studies have shown, this is the most acute problem for 57 percent of young people? And what about the fact that the need for children's preschool institutions is being met nowadays only by 70 percent?

These are only a few brush strokes in a painting which is filled with dramatic qualities. And what we are talking about here is not some small group of our country's population, but about 43 percent of its able-bodied citizens.

But it is not, of course, just a matter of money by itself, or apartments by themselves, or children's institutions by themselves. What we are talking about here, above all, is one of the conditions for solving the strategic problem of perestroika—implementing the creative potential of the people. About "one of" but far from the only one. The quality of education, of training and preparation for independent life and labor, fully entitled participation in administering the affairs of the state and society, cultural development, the opportunity to have one's say in the political process, freedom and public recognition of creative activity, an openness to the world and for the life of the conscience—all these things insistently demand legal guarantees, which are especially important for youth.

Without a timely legal foundation, the active development of the youth movement in this country is being slowed down. Everything new in it evokes suspicion and direct accusations of "undermining" our unity. Lumped all together are "hoppers," soccer "fanatics," hippies, political clubs, "Afghans," "nationalists," racketeers, and whatever else comes to mind. Such accusers then come out in defense of the "one and only," "sacrosanct" Komsomol, which is supposed to draw all these "deviations" into itself and re-forge 100 percent of young persons in its own ranks. How will this come about?

These are the problems with which we, as young deputies, intend to begin. To defend youth means to defend the entire society, to defend its humanistic trend and its future prospects.

Therefore, we support and endorse the draft being worked out for the USSR Law entitled "On State Youth Policy in the USSR."

In connection with the recent events in the Hungarian youth movement and the acknowledgement by the leader of the Hungarian Komsomol [Communist Youth League] that the youth policy in that country has proved to be ineffective, we are forced to hear statements to the effect that her acknowledgement should not have been brought up to the state-legal level and that other routes

should be taken. But we should bear in mind that the criticism of the Hungarian Law on Youth was constructed primarily on the fact that it was keyed solely on one youth organization—the Hungarian Komsomol, and that at the present time has already come into conflict with the de facto political reality.

In discussions with the VMTK [Hungarian Youth Trade-Union Committee?] we have become convinced that the proposed draft law can be presented in toto for discussion. We do not agree with the developers on every point. Above all, on the following two factors. With figures in hand, the developers point to the extreme acuteness of youth's socioeconomic problems. But just what is in the draft? With all their efforts, they make it "as cheap as possible"; they reduce expenditures on youth policy to a minimum. Perhaps this is a noble undertaking, considering the condition of the state budget, but this is like "economizing on matches." We cannot economize on youth; the losses from such economizing would be incommensurately great.

And the second thing is this. The developers have proposed a procedure for creating and activating youth organizations. It is simple and fully in the spirit of the times. But it lacks an essential detail: What guarantees are there that the emerging organizations will be registered in the organs of the state authority? Most likely, the possibility of the organization in question turning to the courts in the event of a refusal to accept registration would comprise such a guarantee.

We have stated ourselves to be in favor of having the draft law brought to the table of the USSR Supreme Soviet so that, after the first reading, it may be published and be available for nationwide discussion, and so that, during the course of this discussion the entire totality of youth problems may be "elucidated" on the basis of genuine democracy and glasnost.

At the behest of the meeting of the USSR people's deputies from the Komsomol

[Signed] Oleg Yegorov, Viktor Minin, Andrey Plotnikov, Aleksandr Uvarov.

Komsomol Employs Khozraschet

18000962 Minsk ZNAMYA YUNOSTI in Russian
26 Mar 89 p 2

[Novosti Press Agency article by A. Poznyak: "Our Ally - Economic Accountability"]

[Text] The revolutionary processes taking place in Soviet society are forcing us to look at Komsomol activities as well in a new way.

During the December 1987 Komsomol Central Committee Plenum there were sharp discussions about ways to get Komsomol organizations actively involved in the country's social and economic life. It was concluded that

ideological and educational work must be based on a firm material foundation—only then will the Komsomol be able to really satisfy the demands and requirements of young people in terms of lodging, work and service and also give them the chance to independently earn the means to realize their own initiatives.

In moving to meet the desires of Komsomol members, in August 1988 the USSR Council of Ministers adopted the "Assisting the Komsomol's Economic Activities" resolution, in accordance with which extensive powers were given to the entire organization and not to just its central agencies as was done previously.

What are the initial results of the Komsomol's independent economic activities?

More than three hundred centers of young people's Scientific and Technical Creative Activities (NTTM's) are already in operation. These organizations unite young innovators who are involved in developing technical projects. The total sum included in 1988 contracts between NTTM centers and customers exceeds 310 million rubles. City and regional NTTM funds have been set up in many locations. Because of these funds Komsomol committees are not only able to finance the activities of various organizations such as technical clubs and creative youth collectives, but can also give them the means to conduct scientific research work.

Recent experience shows that it is possible to quickly reestablish the position of the young worker as a master in industry with the help of a lease contract and lease brigades. Komsomol members and the young people working in the eastern part of the country and on the Baykal-Amur Main Rail Line are pioneering this movement. These areas already have more than one hundred youth cooperatives focusing on the construction of residences and a number of enterprises in the construction industry have been leased. Young men and women intend to contract for comprehensive development and the creation of villages, cities and entire territories contiguous to BAM.

The Komsomol has been given extensive rights in developing various types of cooperation. For example, Komsomol Committees can give cooperative guarantees when receiving bank credits and can also allocate monetary loans from their own budgets to young cooperative members. And in addition there are cooperatives being set up right now so that the population is receiving a long list of services through the efforts of young people.

Cooperatives that specialize in producing modern clothing for young people and consumer services for young families and in repairing and adjusting video equipment are enjoying extensive popularity. There are numerous types of cooperatives in large-scale VUZ [institutions of higher education] centers where students and young

specialists work during their non-study time. For example, the Student Service Center at the Kiev City Komsomol provides services and produces work valued at more than 200,000 rubles every month.

With Komsomol assistance youth cooperatives are also moving into the international arena. The Komsomol Central Committee, the "Sotrudnichestvo" cooperative and the British firm Cameron Balance LTD very recently signed a protocol to create a joint enterprise to produce and operate aerostatic flight equipment. At the present time the Komsomol Central Committee, the USSR Committee of Young People's Organizations and local agencies are negotiating with a number of foreign firms and organizations to set up joint stores, restaurants and joint-stock companies.

A United Nations Economic Commission foreign trade association has been set up to establish internal economic cooperation between Soviet youth organizations and partners from other countries.

Thus the Komsomol has a new ally in education—economic accountability. It gives a young man the chance to feel like a socially meaningful member of society, acquire the skills of practical activity and professional workmanship and be more actively included in the country's social and economic life.

And this ally is very serious, reliable and, one would think, permanent.

Rector of Komsomol Higher School on Cadre, Aktiv Training

18000963 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 May 89 p 1

[Interview with Higher Komsomol School Rector G. S. Golovachev by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent A. Mikadze: "I Will Go Into Politics"]

[Text] Our correspondent A. Mikadze talks with the rector of the Komsomol Central Committee Higher Komsomol School, Professor G. S. Golovachev.

[Mikadze] The system for teaching cadre and active members and the structure of Komsomol educational institutions are in need of review. Why has this issue become so critical at precisely this time?

[Golovachev] Judge for yourself. Komsomol schools today are simply not in any condition to take care of training all the workers from rayon and city committees, never mind all of those who work at the local level. Only 80 percent of the Komsomol cadre and five percent of the Pioneer cadre have the chance to increase their qualifications annually. And the training is not even beneficial for those who have selected the lucky ticket. Because of poor preparation by instructors and employees in the existing schools and clear shortages in the

scientific and methodological base training for Komsomol cadres is conducted within the confines of bare theorizing or conventional and, I would say, primitive instruction. One does not have to talk about the effectiveness of this instruction.

[Mikadze] As far as I know, the steps that were previously taken to strengthen the training base for Komsomol cadres, improve instruction and resolve the most painful problems...

[Golovachev] What was done before, even one or two years ago, should be seen as cosmetic measures. There were places where some things were tightened up and improved, but the system for training and retraining cadres in the Komsomol, a system that had developed independently, remained unchanged. We need a system that relies on a state normative base and meets today's demands for national education, a higher school and increasing the qualifications of specialists.

It is impossible to accomplish this task without radically changing the structure at hand. And therefore the problem was raised so sharply at the Komsomol Central Committee.

[Mikadze] What has to be accomplished in the very near future?

[Golovachev] First of all we have to deploy a massive network of training subunits in Komsomol obkoms [oblast committees], gorkoms [city committees] and raykoms [rayon committees]. We have to set up approximately 120 methodological training centers and Komsomol schools in the republic, kray and oblast Komsomol committees that currently do not have them and at the same time we have to normalize the network of zonal schools, part of which must become regional centers for studying and disseminating the latest experience and sociological research into the problems of young people.

[Mikadze] What is the role of the Higher Komsomol School under the new conditions?

[Golovachev] VKSh [Higher Komsomol School] will remain the main scientific, methodological and teaching center. We will orient ourselves primarily on training and increasing the qualifications of cadres working with young people. A scientific training department has been established in the school, as has a center for administrative consultation. The faculty and department structures will be changed and we will introduce training in new specialties: economics and administration in the social-cultural milieu.

[Mikadze] The Komsomol Central Committee decided to halt acceptance into VKSh on the basis of secondary education. What brought this about?

[Golovachev] There have been 16 graduations from the Department of History and Communist Education. Let's be objective. The department's capabilities no longer satisfying us today. Our research covers this. Only 1.8 percent of the Komsomol gorkom and raykom secretaries are graduates of that department and the percentage of departmental managers in Komsomol organizational committees is even lower. A graduate who is studying in a VUZ [institution of higher education] for more than four years is involved in Komsomol work for an average of three years. It has become somewhat obsolete to coopt personnel, something to which we had to resort when distributing the department's graduates.

[Mikadze] It is unthinkable to develop democracy in VUZ's without self-government among the student. How is this problem resolved in the Higher Komsomol School?

[Golovachev] Student self-government must be based on specific matters and on the realization that every student has specific responsibilities. Why have I raised the problem in just this way? Because in reality at times there are more declarations than action.

I am whole-heartedly for a student self-government that becomes a real school for civic responsibility, professional maturity and political responsibility for tomorrow's specialists and managers.

[Mikadze] How does the transition to the new type of education mesh with the process for developing the entire collective's consciousness and what is the rector's position?

[Golovachev] We propose the gradual, but consistent accomplishment of what we have planned. Our task is to reach the optimal relationship. As regards developing the entire collective, something new always blazes a path by overcoming difficulties. Not everyone approves, although they are almost unanimous in the fact that the quality of training and the further use of graduates will not withstand any criticism. The processes that are taking place in our society are also bringing us in in a very similar manner. The situation may at times seem unusual to some people, but I do not think that there is anything frightening here. The main thing is that we do not run from one extreme to the other.

Crime Wave Continues Among Latvian Youth
18000791 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
14 Mar 89 p 4

[Interview with Bruno Yakovlevich Shteynbrik, Latvian SSR Minister of Internal Affairs by correspondent V. Sebyakin: "When the Criminal is a Teen-Ager"]

[Text] Every third crime in the line of a criminal investigation in the republic is done by juveniles. The criminals, who participate in one-third of assaults and automobile thefts, one-fourth of robberies, and one-fifth of thefts of

personal property and hooliganism, are not even 18 years old. Fifty percent of the total number of crimes committed by teen-agers are thefts. These are the 1988 data. No tendencies toward an improvement in the immediate situation concerning juveniles has been observed in the beginning of this year. B.Ya. Shteynbrik, Latvian SSR Minister of Internal Affairs, reported these data to LATINFORM correspondent V. Sebyakin.

[Sebyakin] The figures that you have given, Bruno Yakovlevich, cannot remain indifferent. The picture really seems gloomy. Could you also name the causes that have created this situation?

[Shteynbrik] Yes, but first I would like to stipulate: I will structure my own analysis through the prism of the sociopolitical aspects of crime. In speaking of this phenomenon, I particularly emphasize that the "foundation" for illegal behavior by adults is laid precisely in violations of the law by juveniles.

Before talking about causes, a few words on the contemporary tendencies and particular features of youth anti-social behavior: I would like to emphasize that there is now more cruelty, aggressiveness, and greed, that women's crime has become more active, and that a large segment of youth has become involved with narcotics, alcoholism, and sexual demoralization. We are encountering nationalistic and chauvinistic manifestations in youth informal associations with an anti-social orientation ever more often. The "rejuvenation" of crime also causes alarm (in the last 3 years, the number of crimes committed by teen-agers of age 14-15 has increased by 8.4 percent), and the integration of adult and child crime is becoming ever more noticeable. Lastly, crime among rural youth has increased.

Many causes of the situation which has been created are rooted in the shortcomings of the republic's economic and social development, in deformations of the basic principle of socialism "to each according to his labor," and in the poor organization of youth upbringing. I could also name a number of other factors that influence crime to varying degrees, but those named, it seems, are enough to be convincing: prevention in the first place of juvenile violations of the law should be generally social. Here, I would like to single out the basic groups of causes influencing juvenile crime—economic, ideological, and sociodemographic.

[Sebyakin] Could you explain what you mean by this in more detail?

[Shteynbrik] Let me begin with the criminological aspects of economics. The remainder principle of financing most important areas, which directly influence the harmonious development of a young person's personality, such as culture, the educational system, and sports, has led to a low level of organization in upbringing work. The material and technical base for club establishments

and sports installations does not stand up to any criticism whatsoever. The raid conducted in Riga alone during Operation "Teen-ager" revealed that, of the 69 clubs for teen-agers, 21 were closed.

What is a 13-14-year old boy interested in most of all? Of course, in mopeds, automotive and radio equipment, and sports. This means that children need predominantly teen-age clubs with a technical or sports orientation, and normal conditions for involvement, conforming to today's requirements, must be created. Yet, what is there in fact? Consider the same mopeds. Incidentally, they are the most frequent object of theft involving teen-age participation. One-third of Soviet mopeds are made in Riga. However, for some reason, they are seen extremely rarely in clubs and technical groups. For fairness's sake, I will say that the republic Komsomol does hold the "Golden Moped" Prize contests, which have become traditional, and that the DOSAAF has made certain efforts to develop technical and applied military types of sports. However, obviously this is not enough to solve the problem on the whole.

The level of the interests and the well-informed nature of the republic's youth outdistanced our economic possibilities long ago. However, if the material and technical base for organizing interesting leisure time activity for youth is not improved soon, all our efforts in this area will be in vain.

[Sebyakin] At the beginning of this conversation, you named the ideological factor as one of the factors affecting teen-age crime. As I understand it, are you referring to the political situation in the republic?

[Shteynbrik] Not just that, the concept is broader. However, in the course of the processes of restructuring our society, serious errors in the ideological and political upbringing of youth have been brought to light. More and more young men and women are becoming involved in meetings, demonstrations, signature gathering, and acts of disobedience and protest. Their lack of experience, legal knowledge, and knowledge of how to make mature decisions independently has led some teen-agers to start on a path of crime, which often carries a political nature as well. This has occurred in Valmiyer and Kraslava, where republic state flags were torn down and defiled.

In general, I am alarmed by the low level of culture in inter-ethnic interactions, which sometimes also leads to violations of the law. Fights, displays of hooliganism, and insults to citizens on national grounds have become more frequent. Tendencies toward stratification of the teachers' and pupils' collectives have been noted in two-group schools. Naturally, this does not contribute to normalizing the situation.

In this regard, I address an earnest request to the leaders of the largest informal organizations—the People's and International fronts. Be filled with a feeling of responsibility for the future of our society! Only tolerance and respect for each other make it possible to successfully solve the common task of educating youth. Confrontations and the oblivion of simple truth and general human values inevitably lead to the aggravation not only of the political situation, but also of crime problems.

[Sebyakin] Bruno Yakovlevich, would you say a few words about the sociodemographic problems which influence crime?

[Shteynbrik] It is my firm conviction that all origins for the fact that a teen-ager falls into our sphere of interest must be sought in the specific family. Today, many people talk about bad families. However, before we go into this, let us define the concept itself. For a start, let us try to discover for ourselves what sort of family is considered bad. The evaluation criteria can be the following, I think. Firstly, a family ought to be a collective of like-minded people. Secondly, a family should subsist only on its labor incomes.

[Sebyakin] The first criterion requires no comment. However, concerning the second...

[Shteynbrik] ...The parents' ability to "make money" creates a dissonance between the official family budget and actual material well-being. This is the result. Unfortunately, cases have become more frequent in which the children of such parents, poisoned with the bacillus of a dual morality and accustomed to permissiveness and impunity, lose their moral guidance points and start on the path to crime.

Thus, the stereotypical view of a bad family, where the father is an alcoholic and the mother lives an amoral way of life, turns out to be incomplete today, not reflecting the essence of the phenomenon.

Incidentally, the chances of becoming a bad family are greater for incomplete families. More than one-half of the married couples in the republic break up. One-third of the families in which the parents are 30-40 years old break up. Their children are 12-15 years old—the most susceptible age. If you add to this the fact that about 75,000 families in Riga alone are on waiting lists for improved living conditions, it becomes clear that the sociodemographic situation in the republic does not promote the full-valued upbringing of children.

Right now in Latvia, more than 40 percent of those on the books in the juvenile affairs inspectorates (IDN) have only one parent. In all, more than 1,800 bad parents are constantly in our field of view and regularly monitored by IDN inspectors.

[Sebyakin] What can a militia worker really do here, besides the "edifying" talks which often evoke no emotions whatsoever from bad parents? How can the atmosphere in a family nonetheless be improved?

[Shteynbrik] The law and, in particular, the last ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on 5 January 1988 on expanding the rights of IDN inspectors, enable us to struggle sufficiently effectively against those who obviously do not want to fulfill their parental obligations. Last year, more than 60 apologies for parents, as we call them, were deprived of parental rights. More than 70 have been sent to labor treatment prevention centers. By way of armament, the inspectors also have the terrible weapon of the possibility of petitioning the court to evict citizens, deprived of their parental rights, who negatively influence their children, without granting other living space.

[Sebyakin] How often do militia workers resort to this measure?

[Shteynbrik] There are few such cases in the republic: they can be counted in ones. This phenomenon, I think, should not become widespread. We consider this measure extraordinary and use it only in situations where it is otherwise impossible to rescue a child from a negative influence. At the same time, it should be self-critically acknowledged that our IDN inspectors do not always entirely utilize the full force of the law.

For instance, let us consider a measure of administrative influence, such as fines for failing to fulfill parental obligations. If this is employed in time and capably, some such parents can still be forced to think. Both about the fates of their children—how they are starting on a path of crime. And about what waits for them themselves, if they do not change their way of life.

All the same, the main thing in an inspector's work is persuasion through words and personal example, and a systematic and goal-directed pedagogical influence, as well as interaction with society. Alas, the latter is the most difficult. The inspectors must constantly encounter society's indifference toward the bad family problem. Labor collectives and trade union agencies have still not been included to the proper extent in solving the problems of strengthening the family and the upbringing of children. Comrades' courts, administrations, and trade union committees are poorly struggling against drunkard parents, mothers who lead an amoral way of life, and parents on the whole whose children violate the law.

In conclusion, I would like to direct attention to the disconnected nature and lack of coordination in the actions of interested organizations and public formations. This reduces the effectiveness of preventative measures against juvenile law violations. Only after combining the efforts of families, schools, labor collectives, and of society will we be able to count on success in the struggle against teen-age crime.

[Sebyakin] Thank you for the interview.

Militia Faces Rise in Crime in Lithuania
18001081 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 19 May 89 p 3

[Interview with Lithuania SSR Minister of Internal Affairs S. Lisauskas by SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA correspondents G. Lomanov and R. Motkus: "Problems and Seven Hundred Vacancies"]

[Text] Last year 835 men were dismissed from Lithuanian Internal Affairs agencies. Some of them were pensioned and others, those who had compromised themselves or did not meet professional requirements, were dismissed without pity or regret. Very many of those people made the transition to working in the national economy. In short, republic militia now have approximately seven hundred vacancies and filling them is very, very difficult. People are not coming in and the criminal ranks are growing. The total number of crimes increased by 66 percent in the first quarter of this year and the number of felonies doubled.

Our conversation with Lithuania SSR Minister of Internal Affairs S. Lisauskas began with a comparison of these numbers.

[Correspondents] Stasis Genrikhovich, these statistics are disturbing. And if they are correct, then in our non-professional view there is simply a need for radical and immediate measures.

[Lisauskas] And the professionals feel the same way. But since we have already started with these statistics, let us look at them more carefully. I have a graphic that shows statistics on the types of crimes for the last several years. You can track changes on it. Let's go back to 1981. There have been approximately 140 murders annually and as you see, the number is almost constant. Serious bodily harm has dropped from 251 cases to 170. Strong-armed robberies have fallen from 210 to 189.

[Correspondents] Where is the growth that throws the statistics off?

[Lisauskas] Primarily in the area of larceny, the number of which has quadrupled. In 1981 there were 1965 cases and last year there were 7675. The operational situation is changing and there are more and more signs of organized crime. There are cases of racketeering, so-called "crimes for hire,"—people are robbing the apartments of the shady economy's smart operators. Our workers already know that when they have seized fifteen thousand rubles in an apartment, it means that they have probably discovered their next underground crook.

[Correspondents] Does this mean that they are outstripping BKhSS [combating the embezzlement of socialist property and speculation] employees?

[Lisaukas] Well, we do not have to show the thieves where the unjust money is being seized. And we will talk about problems in the BKhSS service. For example, the republic has its own characteristics and Lithuania is a leader in the automotive industry and the development of cooperative societies. And right here you have one paradox. According to GAI [State Automobile Inspection] data, automobile operators break approximately 20,000 windshields per year, but the republic only gets 7500 of them annually. Where do they get the remaining ones? This is rich soil for crime—thieves remove the glass from some vehicles and sell them to the operators of others at triple the price. In short, I am not inclined to examine the problems involved in the fight against crime in isolation from the overall situation.

[Correspondents] We agree, but one cannot comprehend the incomprehensible. Pardon the small pun, but we would nonetheless also like to talk about the internal affairs in Internal Affairs agencies.

[Lisaukas] Well, we have enough problems. The militia are not now offended by attention from the press, and, forgive me, but we have a healthy attitude toward constructive criticism as it helps us see the deficiencies and cleanse our ranks of people who are not worthy. But there is no sin in again asking the question, "How about help for the militia themselves?" We are very upset about the low level of technical equipment and the extreme shortage of personnel. Today you began with the rackets and you obviously know that these cut-throats have "V-8's" with souped-up engines. Yet it is time to write off one-third of our vehicle fleet. Every three investigators shares one old typewriter and a dictophone that is on its last legs. Every investigator or Criminal Investigation Department worker handles two and at times three dozen cases at the same time.

And there is more. You know that the political situation in the republic is very complex. The process of deepening national awareness, democratization and the elimination of stagnation's scabs is accompanied by a fascination with "meeting" democracy. And we still have to maintain order through all of this. For example, militia workers had 880,000 hours of overtime last year because of the various types of meetings and demonstrations. The load increased drastically, but pay and work conditions stayed the same.

[Correspondents] We have been told that things have gotten so bad that sensible detectives from the Criminal Investigation Department ask to go to militia districts...

[Lisaukas] You can understand a man. There he will receive an apartment in two or three years, while here he will not get one in the foreseeable future. People, to include efficient workers, leave. A good specialist in an enterprise, not to mention in cooperatives, earn more than a militiaman. One of them hired a doorman for 400 rubles a month and a worker in the Criminal Investigation Department earns a maximum of 240 rubles.

[Correspondents] But it is already clear that the relative share of organized crime will increase, as will its equipment level and solidarity. And it is more difficult to expose professionals in the criminal trade than it is to expose minor riff-raff. How will you do it?

[Lisaukas] We still have some reserves. At one time excessive regulations bothered us, but that has been reduced and the rights of republic ministers have been expanded. For example, we can change our structure, of course within the limits of established numbers and the salary fund, but that in and of itself is a lot. It has become possible to concentrate our efforts on the main areas. For example, we have set up specialized groups in Vilnyuskiy Rayon that include workers from the district, the Criminal Investigation Division, BKhSS and fire protection. The results were immediate—these groups uncovered twice as much crime as before, when efforts were scattered. We are again gathering the BKhSS into one concentrated force. At one time we had been forced to disperse people from the very strong collective that had developed at the city department into rayon departments, but the consequences of the last poorly thought-out experiment are being put in order and your paper has written about that.

As the discussion has turned to the fight against embezzlement, I have to talk about something that has been painful. The republic has been practically paralyzed by the inspector organization. Mintorg [Ministry of Commerce] had ten inspectors and now there are only six; instead of the twenty-two in Minlegprom [Ministry of Light Industry] there are only four; and the inspector organization in Minkomkhoz [Ministry of the Municipal Economy] has been reduced to a little over twenty people. OBKhSS [Department for Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation] workers simply have no one to entrust an inspection to. This is at least criminal thoughtlessness. In my opinion we have to establish a strong, independent extra-departmental inspection agency, possibly under the aegis of people's control.

[Correspondents] Stasis Genrikhovich, let's return to the problem of organized crime. Investigators are very disturbed by the present judicial practice under which a verdict of "not guilty" has almost become an end in itself. Inveterate criminals escape punishment and, as one of your investigators put it, the court has to prove that the Earth is round. Doesn't this upset you?

[Lisaukas] Of course, but let us separate the guilt. I do not want to indiscriminately reproach journalists who write about legal topics, but one can only lift one's hands in dismay when reading some articles because entire concepts have been turned inside out. Humanitarianism has been taken to the absurd—the criminal is presented as the victim and the investigator as simply a monster. And you ask yourself whom is the author urging us to build a legal state for? Under pressure from the press,

court and procurator workers have begun to be overcautious. Here are the data: in 1980 less than one-half of the defendants received sentences that did not include incarceration. Now two-thirds get such sentences. We are not for tougher punishment, but thieves and robbers whose guilt has been proven are remaining free. Can the honest citizen feel that he is being protected in this type of situation? True, we cannot dash from one extreme to the other.

[Correspondents] We have heard the idea that the militia can be strengthened by creating in it a type of "municipal" service that is subordinate to local soviets. What do you think about that idea?

[Lisaukas] I am totally for it. The council of industrial enterprise directors recently met in Panevezhis and decided that they would allocate assets for the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs]. They told us to bring in all the people we needed to guarantee ideal order in the city, select worthy, highly professional people and pay them what we had to. But... we are not able to take this money, as our hands are tied by instructions. But local soviets of people's deputies could consider the real situation in and specific needs of the city and form their own subunits. The Criminal Investigation Department, inquest, BKhSS agencies and fire protection should be centrally subordinated.

It is obvious that there are also other means for strengthening the agencies involved in law and order. Some that are indisputable to me are that we have to raise the material base and level of technical equipment for the militia, think out their organizational structure and increase cadre personnel in order to successfully combat the onslaught of crime, especially organized crime.

We recently invited a well-known criminal lawyer from the U.S.A. for an exchange of opinions and do you know what struck me in his lecture? One-fifth of all the workers in the militia are in the administrative organization. We have fewer than three percent and we are trying to reduce. For example everyone who is not conducting an investigation or inquest is regarded as AUP [administrative and management personnel] and as you know, we have to reduce this organization. But the operational worker never has time to get involved in summaries and the militia need psychologists, economists and analysts, in short, investigators who are able to study and forecast the criminal situation.

As you see, we have pretty well piled up problems and we have to resolve them in an efficient manner. Because in the final accounting militia authority depends on what kind of order there is in the streets and how successful the militia are in exposing crime.

Social Needs of Krasnoyarsk Kray Neglected
18001013 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 21 Apr 89 p 5

[Article by Krasnoyarsk Kray Staff Correspondent V. Pyrkh: "Taymyr is Calling You"]

[Text] Yaptuneh hurried after the reindeer sledge: "They're moving off, but..." They've smelled smoke! I've heard a lot about what a wonder they are—reindeer. But I didn't know they had such an excellent sense of smell; better, even, than a dog. It turns out that even a hundred kilometers away from Norilsk, they can smell the animal-like "breath" of the combine.

"It took away the land, poisoned the environment, and now it's even taking away the language," the old herdsman muttered agitatedly.

"Which language?" I didn't understand.

Yaptuneh merely gave a reproachful look in response and picked up his staff...

Krasnoyarsk Kray is called a kingdom of 119 nations and nationalities. I was interested in seven of them—the ones that gravitate towards the northern latitudes: Dolgans and Nenyets, Selkups and Nganasans, Zvenks and Enyets, and Kets—these are the ones who live here. In terms of population density, Taymyr takes last place in the country. But you see it's not for nothing that the Evens have a proverb which says, "If it were not for beads there would not be any ornaments." Have we not been losing these precious beads, bit by bit? And what lost language was the reindeer herdsman talking about?

They say that at one time a geographical chart was hung in the Taymyr Okrug party committee, on which—instead of the Norilsk Industrial Center—there was a blank space... Perhaps someone was joking, or playing a dirty trick; I don't know. But here is a verifiable fact: there was not one single representative of the Taymyr Okrug Committee at the city party conference in Norilsk. Just as there was no one from Norilsk at the party conference in the okrug center, in Dudinka.

"And why do we need Dudinka?" I heard with disbelief at the Norilsk CPSU Gorkom. "We've got 17,500 communists, and they only have a little over 6,000... In the Norilsk Industrial Region, out of 280,000 people, only about a hundred are people of the indigenous nationality. After all, one has to consider the interests of the majority!"

I listened to these remarks, and I thought: this is a painful reminder of the well-known parable about the baby cuckoo that grew up in a strange nest...

Of course, the modest Dudinka loses to modern Norilsk in every instance. But after all, it was from that very Dudinka that N. Urvantsev's first geological expedition

set out in 1921. And soon the news spread throughout the country, that extremely rich deposits of polymetallic ores were found in the polar latitudes. And it was to the Dudinka port itself that materials and supplies were subsequently shipped for outfitting geological-search operations, and the first steamships with construction workers. The snow-bound settlements helped the first passers-by with whatever they could: transport, people, communications... "Taymyr is calling you"—at that time this callsign was heard on all wavelengths.

In 1932, the first Taymyr Okrug Party Conference was held, and the leading specialists of Norilsk—Zarembko, Vorontsov and others—were its first delegates. A few years later there was a new event: the decision was made to lay a railroad between these two populated places. The tracks were laid in 1937, right on the icy right-of-way. And Dudinka became not only a river and sea-port, but also a railroad station.

But when Norilsk established its own party organization, subordinate to the kraykom, it was not long until such concepts as an okrug party, or Taymyr Okrug fell out of use. The metallurgists considered themselves fully-authorized masters on the peninsula, having had enormous tracts of land placed at their disposal. And the okrug committee merely rubber-stamped submissively the decisions taken "on high" for allocation of more and more new lands—including the most valuable reindeer moss grazing lands of the aborigines.

What the Norilsk Mining and Metallurgical Combine left for them I saw when I visited the tundra. The writhing, despoiled earth was oozing into the fishing grounds, and once rich forests full of fur-bearing animals were poisoned by sulphurous wastes.

Here is information from the Agricultural Scientific Research Institute (NIISKh) of the Far North, which is based in Norilsk: Over the years of the combine's existence, more than 1.5 million hectares of arable lands have been taken out of agricultural use.

Did they really get all this "for nothing," as they say? Are the herdsmen really not receiving some kind of significant compensation for living so close to the threatening neighbor that is the mighty combine?

As you might imagine, it is not reflected. The combine meticulously pays its fines, which then go into the national pot, and who then becomes the concrete owner of these funds is not known. And you see, no one has yet seriously taken up the matter of restoring the ravaged environment on the peninsula.

Representatives of the combine do not agree with the thrust of my argument.

"We in Dudinka are maintaining the port, and we are helping the city to develop. What's more the railroad is on our balance sheet as well."

It's true, the metallurgists have kept the port and the railroad for themselves. But simply because those facilities are vitally needed for their work. And they are building houses in Dudinka, but once again—for their own workers.

As far as rendering assistance to the reindeer farms, of which the combine leaders are not reluctant to talk given the opportunity, judge for yourselves: last year this assistance amounted to 237,000 rubles.

At the Norilsk City CPSU Committee, there is a special coordinating council for rendering assistance to the rural area. But what can the council do? With the transition to cost-accounting, the enterprises themselves are in charge of their own funds, and have no intention of spending them without a return.

But the situation on the sovkhozes of Taymyr, which exist on state subsidies, is very severe. In terms of providing housing, the rural populace of the peninsula is in last place in the country. Here only a little more than seven square meters per capita is provided. And 329 families of the indigenous nationalities do not even have a permanent roof over their heads, and lead a year-round nomadic existence on the tundra.

Specialists believe that, in order to correct the housing situation alone, 100 million rubles a year is needed. And this exceeds the annual budget of the okrug threefold! And so it turns out that outsiders come in, get themselves settled, make themselves at home, and get rich; but the native Taymyrites, on the other hand, get poorer... How can they continue to live?

"There is a way out," says Zarya Taymyra Sovkhoz Director R. Lenvalskiy. "Payment must be established, once and for all, for the raw materials, and for the land. That same land which they have so lightheartedly farmed out, and still do, for the economic managers."

As I walked about a small reindeer-herding settlement typical of Taymyr, I was comparing it with Norilsk, all lit up for a holiday, as it were; and I felt the profound truth of those words.

Of course, one could have built something by oneself; but the farm isn't up to that. The funds allocated through agroprom are not even enough to patch the holes. Driven to despair, they decided to take advantage of their rights as owners of this land. Last year, sovkhoz specialists together with the okrug inspectorate examined the reindeer pasture along the lower Yenisey. They determined the amount of damages for their spoilage as—260,000 rubles. A bill was presented to the Lower-Yenisey Oil and Gas Exploration Expedition, which is carrying on work here. True, they would not accept a monetary fine—what would the farm do with it? But they did

suggest that the despoilers build a so-called intermediate base for the reindeer-herders—a project which they have been unable to complete with their own resources for many years now.

But this is, I believe, thus far the only incident in Taymyr in which the perpetrators have consented to make amends for their own sins.

There are not only non-ferrous metallurgists working on the territory of the Norilsk Industrial Region, but also geologists and oil-explorers, motor transport and power workers... And like the metallurgists, they won't "unfasten" a single kopeck from their profits for the development of Norilsk itself. Is that unfair? You bet it is! Therefore, for a long time now an idea has been a-borning: to establish on the territory of the industrial center a territorial-production complex, called "the Norilsk Combine." By concentrating a multi-branch business in the hands of a single individual and subordinating all resources to a single goal on the principles of regional cost-accounting, one can make noteworthy progress.

I familiarized myself with the proposals of the combine economists, but I could not at all get rid of the thought: Just where in all these scrupulous calculations are the interests of the autonomous okrug, whose mineral wealth is being so shamelessly exploited by the metallurgists? How have they considered in their plans the vitally-important needs of the Dolgans and Nganasans, whose lands were seized, who have been forced by the worsening ecological situation to flee their familiar haunts in search of new grazing lands? What, are they not included in this grandiose program?

One recalls that we were taught the idea that our national policy is the only correct and proper one. And there were reasons for this, which go against one's conscience. Dr. Obrezov, for example, when he visited the Taymyr at the beginning of the century, bluntly declared—that the indigenous populace of the peninsula was doomed, and would disappear in 30 to 50 years. And that is evidently just about what has happened.

The October Revolution saved the small nations. And they were pulled up out of darkness and poverty, out of total illiteracy and ignorance. And then somehow, the pioneer explorers of the North were resorbed throughout the country, and very soon the command-bureaucratic system could not help but place its imprint on the fate of the small peoples as well.

"If we received only 2.0 percent of the funds which the Norilsk Combine pays to the state budget every year," A. Starodubtsev, secretary of the okrug party committee, told me hopefully, "The okrug would be made of gold!"

True, later he suddenly remembered: "But not in money, of course! Materials, people, equipment—these are what we need."

And all these things are there, among the many ministries and agencies whose enterprises are based on the Taymyr Peninsula. And that is how the situation has evolved: the real levers of power on the peninsula are held by the newcomers, and the misfortunes and problems on the whole are in the okrug capital, in old Dudinka...

They are concerned about this at the kray party committee as well, where they are thinking about how to help the Taymyr fishermen and reindeer herders.

But this can be possible only when there is only one boss on the peninsula. And it is of no importance, in which city the capital of the autonomous okrug is situated—in Dudinka or in Norilsk. All that is important is that the voice of the people who have live on Taymyr from time immemorial, should at last be heard.

Serious Shortcomings Noted in Maternal, Infant Health Care

18300574 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 5 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by Ye. Myatiyeva: "Secret Figures"]

[Text] Department Chief of the People's Control Commission [KNK] of the republic delivered a report concerning the failure of the Tashauz Oblast Department of Health to fulfill satisfactorily the USSR KNK decree of June 20, 1986 on the serious shortcomings in the work of the TSSR health authorities and institutions for mother and child care. An inspection carried out by the republic KNK once again confirmed that the quality of mother and child care in the Tashauz Oblast is of extremely poor quality. The state of affairs in the localities has not improved from one year to the next. A road session of the TSSR KNK was held jointly with the ispolkom of the Tashauz Oblast soviet of people's deputies.

Fact: Three reports on mother and child care, all in an optimistic vein, were submitted last year by the Tashauz Oblast Department of Health to the republic ministry. The fact that the leadership and specialists of the republic's Ministry of Health rarely evaluate the local situation and only then from reports submitted by the oblast health departments, is indicated by the fact that during the entire past year the ministry's chief specialist and obstetrician-gynecologist went out to the Tashauz Oblast on a particular assignment on only one occasion. It was then, however, that he learned that four of the seven cases of fatal pregnancies and births were kept off the records.

An inspection by the TSSR KNK that the medical supervision of pregnant women has been incompetent. Not a single woman was examined completely as required in any of the inspected therapeutic-prophylactic institutions. There are cases where woman are dying because of negligence and poor professional care given

by medical personnel. The following figures, for example, cannot help but make one stop and think: More than 70 percent of the obstetrician-gynecologists in the oblast do not have surgical skills and 50 percent of the women who undergo surgery die. Moreover, as has been confirmed by an expert appraisal conducted by the Republic Scientific-Research Institute for Mother and Child Health Care, the medical documentation on deceased pregnant women, recently confined women, and gynecology patients make it clear that two out of every three deaths could have been prevented.

But perhaps the greatest concern is caused by the state of affairs regarding the organization of pediatric care. The facts cited at the TSSR KNK session demand the adoption of immediate measures.

Can one be reconciled to the fact that newborn babies and infants are not registered for a year, and sometimes even longer? Or can we accept situations where a physician "cares" for a deceased child while recording in the registry book that this non-existent child is gaining weight, etc.?

Disturbing facts have been uncovered in the Leninskiy Rayon. Thus, A. Orazova from the Gyzyl baydak kolkhoz in May of last year gave birth at the central rayon hospital to a live child weighing 3,200 grams who died 24 hours later. However, the report documents listed this case a stillborn child. N. Durdyeva from the kolkhoz im. Telman in 1988 gave birth to twins one of whom was stillborn. The documents, however, indicated the birth of only one child.

Also discovered in Leninskiy Rayon were the following facts: The death of a nine-month old child in the kolkhoz imeni Chapayev was registered 10 months after the fact.

What are the reasons for so lamentable a state of mother and child care in the Tashauz Oblast. There was considerable interest in what Chief of the oblast health department D. Atabayev would offer in the way of explaining the numerous blunders committed by the Tashauz Department of Health. Unfortunately, the participants in the session heard Atabayev offer nothing except boring accounts of his own work and attempts to justify himself.

The address by Chief of the Administration for Mother and Child Health Care of the republic's Ministry of Health T. N. Nikolenko, was also surprising, to put it mildly. Was it really necessary to report on the increase of pediatric and maternity bed space if in fact these figures, as it turned out, have not changed the situation?

It was for good reason that the entire operation of the republic health sector be improved, beginning with the ministry and ending with the rural medical dispensaries, and that those improvements be undertaken at a better style of more effective activity. The Ministry of Health has been sending second and third rank individuals to

the localities instead of the principal specialists, and the leadership in turn has been proceeding in the same fashion. But it is exactly at the lower link of our medical sector, in the districts, as was emphasized by G. M. Osadchiy, a trusted physician and chief epidemiologist of the Soviet Children's Fund imeni V. I. Lenin, that we are losing children and mothers.

The session participants were also dissatisfied with the statements of the republic's Deputy Minister of Health S. G. Yusupov. Again there was the customary accounting of his own activities instead of fundamental self-criticism, and the usual promises to intensify the Ministry's control over the state of affairs in the Tashauz Oblast.

After comparing the statements of the two representatives of the Ministry of Health, comrades Yusupov and Nikolenko, one cannot help but conclude that work is proceeding along the old ways where each person is responsible only for his own narrow area of activity and has no desire to know anything about other areas, and where no effort is made to coordinate efforts as is required in several areas so that one does not become locked into one single area once and forever. This leads to the long overdue need to change the operational style and methods of the Ministry of Health and its local subdivisions.

The statements of the three trusted physicians, principal specialists of the Soviet Children's Fund imeni Lenin can only be described as eye-openers. Osadchiy's statement has already been mentioned. Important problems in maternity care were raised by chief specialist, obstetrician-gynecologist K. A. Martynov. He said that in 1988 there were 34 deaths among expectant women and women in labor, and there were already four such deaths in January of this year. What is most important, emphasized Martynov, is to organize procedures properly in obstetrics. But what kind of organization can there be if the oblast did not have a principal specialist in obstetrics and gynecology over a period of several months? Fatalities are investigated within a narrow circle of maternity home employees and are not brought to the attention of the prenatal care medical personnel, so that such information does not become instructive.

Chief pediatrician G. G. Olshanskiy said that not every separate case of child fatality is investigated. The oblast health department doesn't even have a commission for the control of child mortality! Is this not the reason for the fact that there have been false entries on children's lives?

In listening to the principal specialists from Moscow, one has to wonder: Why could not any of our own medical personnel see what was observed by the visiting physicians over such a brief stay in the oblast?

There was also the seemingly casual and indistinct thought expressed that there must a reasonably planned birth rate. Surely, it is exactly frequent births that

weaken a woman's body and prevent her from recovering her strength. There is a very great probability that a weak and unhealthy woman will result in a premature birth and a weak child. Of course planned parenthood is a very fine and delicate problem which cannot be resolved hurriedly, but it must be resolved.

The Turkmen SSR Committee of People's Control has adopted a decree on the problem under consideration. It has been recognized that the TSSR Ministry of Health (K. Chagyllov and S. G. Yusupov) and the Tashauz Oblast Health Department (D. Atabayev) have not secured the implementation of the USSR KNK decree. There have been no fundamental changes in the organization of the struggle to reduce infant and maternal mortality. As a result, infant mortality in 1988 was 65.6 per 1,000 births (it was 25.5 for all of the USSR in 1987). The chief physicians of the Central Rayon Hospital have been misinforming their higher authorities and the public about a 25 to 50 percent reduction in infant mortality.

In this connection, the republic KNK has relieved chief physician of the Lenin Central Rayon Hospital S. Karybayev of his duties. The same decision was applied to Chief of the Health Department of the Tashauz oblistpolkom D. Atabayev. Deputy Minister of Health S. G. Yusupov and Chief of the Mother and Child Care Administration of the TSSR Ministry of Health T. N. Nikolenko were severely reprimanded for the unsatisfactory fulfillment of the requirements stipulated in the decrees of the party and government on an all-inclusive improvement in the organization of mother and child care.

The session adopted a resolution to inform the Turkmen CP Central Committee, the Presidium of the TSSR Supreme Soviet, and the TSSR Council of Ministers about the inability of Minister K. Chagyllov to correct the state of affairs in the maternity and children's homes.

Hockey Star Mogilnyy's Defection No Tragedy
*18001004 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in
Russian 6 May 89 p 6*

[Article by V. Kalyadin and S. Kosterin: "Just What Happened? Versions of the Forward's Disappearance."]

[Text] The USSR all-star hockey team returned the day before yesterday from the world championship tournament in Stockholm. It brought with it not only the champion gold medals, but also some unpleasant news. Forward Aleksandr Mogilnyy did not return home with the team and relayed through someone that he now would be playing for one of the overseas professional teams.

When and where he made such a decision will, of course, become clear with time, but he played pretty well as part of the all-star team, and his play was noted by the press. Based on the results of the tournament, the head coach of the all-star team, Viktor Vasilyevich Tikhonov, noted

that the leadership of the delegation thanked the team for the good attitude toward one another and for their mutual assistance. So, apparently, we do not have to look for the sources of his act here.

We could, of course, talk about Aleksandr Mogilnyy's mood when he played during April if one of us accredited at the world championship would have had the opportunity in Stockholm to talk with him and his comrades. But, unfortunately, this was difficult to do. Our all-star team proved to be essentially isolated and preferred not to open its doors even to Soviet journalists. They did not connect us with the team over the hotel telephone.

So, just what happened?

The leader of the Soviet delegation, V.I. Koloskov, tells us:

"On the day of the championship, Mogilnyy was rooming with Sergey Fedorov, his teammate. In the evening, after the concert by a well-known Swedish singer, they both went up to their room and began getting ready for bed. In the words of Fedorov, Mogilnyy said something about not being able to sleep and did not go to bed. In the morning, when Sergey woke up, his roommate's bed was still empty. We thought Mogilnyy had got up earlier and went out somewhere to buy a souvenir. But he still had not shown up for breakfast. That is when I informed our embassy about Aleksandr's disappearance. Alas, we were unable to discover his whereabouts prior to our departure time. And only at the airport was I asked to come to the telephone—the manager of the hotel in which we were staying called. He informed me that the Soviet team had barely left for the airport when he received an anonymous phone call. The unknown caller informed him of Mogilnyy's decision not to return to his homeland and his desire to play for one of the NHL clubs. Attempts to find out from the Canadians who it was that had confused the young hockey player, unfortunately, were unsuccessful—none of them knew anything about a possible deal. We are now taking special measures to clarify this question once and for all."

We called Stockholm and asked NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY (APN) correspondent Dmitriy Tugarin to tell us what the local press was writing concerning this and what details it was reporting. Here is what he relayed to the editorial staff of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA:

The first Western press agency reports appeared Thursday evening, with reference to TASS and the program "Time," that Aleksandr Mogilnyy has remained in Sweden. I got in touch with the Soviet embassy in Stockholm.

"For now, all we can say is that Mogilnyy was not with the team at Arland Airport. We have asked the police to help ascertain the location of a Soviet citizen," a representative of the embassy's press department told me.

Information from Swedish journalists proved more complete. "The Soviet embassy requested the U.S. and Canadian embassies to report if A. Mogilnyy was staying with them," the announcer of the radio program "Dagens Eko" announced today. "However, they refused to comment on this fact."

"During the last days of the tournament, Americans were seen several times next to the hotel where the Soviet hockey players were staying during the world championships," write Johann Erseus and Mats Larsson, reporters of the newspaper EXPRESSEN. "The main version of what took place," they point out, "is that Mogilnyy was enticed by people from the NHL."

Verner Parsson, APN journalist in Sweden, was an interpreter for the Soviet team and lived with the team almost throughout the championship. "On Wednesday," he tells, "I stopped in to say good bye to the Soviet team. Mogilnyy was there at that time, and nothing was said about him planning to stay. In any event, Aleksandr Mogilnyy was not there the next morning. The rest of the team left for the airport at 6:30 AM."

An hour later, Lars Edman, manager of the Dalare Hotel, received a telephone call. The anonymous individual informed him in English, with a heavy American accent, that Mogilnyy was remaining in Sweden and was planning to go to North America later.

If Mogilnyy plays in the NHL, the only possibility is with the Buffalo Sabers club. This club drafted the Soviet

forward back in 1988. The club's general manager was in one of the hotels in central Stockholm on 4 May. It is reported here that he reserved another room in the same hotel for the NHL club.

Such are the versions in the Swedish press.

Soviet athletes going over to professional foreign clubs has become quite frequent lately. And there is nothing special about this. Look how many of our soccer and hockey players are now playing for the Italian, French, and Canadian teams. The athletes themselves are concluding contracts with the concurrence of our clubs; all the paperwork is completed in a legal manner, and they can play wherever they are invited.

Conflict situations have occurred only in the Central Army Sports Club team, and the reason for them is quite clear. The players of this club are service members. They must do a number of formalities before they take off the military uniform. But it would seem there are no obstacles here. As V.V. Tikhonov told journalists in Stockholm, the question of converting a number of players of the Central Army Sports Club team to the "pro" ranks will be resolved favorably. Aleksandr Mogilnyy, a hockey player on this club, did not express intentions to convert; in any case, this was not known to the press.

There is no tragedy for Soviet hockey—it will get by without the lying forward. It is even better that a double-dealing person, a person who preferred hard cash over good glory, will not be next to our outstanding masters of hockey who worked hard to bring back the title of world champion.

Moscow's Urban Dilemmas Reviewed
18000919 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Apr 89 p 1

[Article by Valeriy Kondakov: "Moscow at the Turn of the Century"]

[Text] The 9-millionth resident will be registered in Moscow in the near future. Are we to be glad about this, or sad? Not long ago at all, we used to rejoice at such jubilees. Now, ever more often, we stop to ponder. And there is something to ponder over. For example, over Moscow's already having surpassed 112 world states in population number. And just imagine all of Bulgaria, let us say, squeezed into Moscow's city limits. It is an absurdity, and nothing more! However, for the millions of Muscovites and the capital's visitors, this absurdity, lost in the throngs on the buses and in the stores, has become the everyday life. Its parameters, translated into statistical language, look distressing.

It turns out that the waiting line to obtain apartments in Moscow has reached a million persons, and is continuing to grow. Every fifth city resident is living in a shared apartment, with no realistic hope of bettering his or her circumstances. Almost half of Moscow's residents is spending about 2 hours a day, and even more, on the way to work and back. The transportation, including the metro, cannot cope with the ridership, and nets a loss to the public coffers.

Because of the capital's overpopulation, which has led to excessive growth of its territory and communications, the city economy has found itself in incipiently moribund condition. The housing inventory is neglected, and a third of it needs capital repair. The residential blocks are littered, and the streets are poorly swept.

If the USSR State Committee for Statistics is to be believed, Moscow, where industrial enterprises annually rain 367,000 metric tons of harmful emissions down on the people's heads, is among the country's cities most unfortunate in ecological respects. Add to this, that half of the city's population constantly suffers from noise that exceeds all norms.

The capital's advantages in marketing, utility, and cultural services to its residents, once so attractive, now are being reduced to nil by the 3 million newcomers who daily storm the capital city stores.

As specialists see it, the psychological well-being of the capital city population's spirit has been fundamentally disturbed. The city environment has lost its social and spatial proportionality to the individual. The traditional little Moscow courtyards between apartment buildings have disappeared. The new rayons have been turned into gigantic bedrooms. Because of the standardized tract development, the city has lost its unique panorama....

And this is, by no means, a complete list of the denials and losses which have led to a social, moral, and ecological malaise in the city that is incompatible with Moscow's capital city status. The mistakes, compounded for decades, which used to be draped with slogans about "the model communist city" in not so long-ago times, have to be corrected without delay. The draft of a new General Plan for the Development of Moscow and Its Oblast to the Year 2010, which has been referred for nationwide discussion by a CPSU Central Committee Politburo decision, has been prepared for just this purpose.

A special meaning is seen in the maximum, All-Union glasnost of one city's problems. The point is not so much that the matter concerns Moscow, dear to every heart, and the capital of the country and the RSFSR. Even now there are over 2,000 cities on the USSR map, more than 400 of which are "megalopolises" with the same ailments that the capital has. And, by the millennium's end, as specialists suppose, four out of every five citizens of the country will have become urbanites. Therefore, the detailed study and solution of urban problems in the Moscow example is a forecast of the future and an open lesson in social therapy.

The draft General Plan was prepared by a qualified team of specialists, which has solved the difficult problem of making the city maximally agreeable to a person's living. Deputies, members of creative unions, representatives of informal associations—all to whom Moscow's future matters—actively, and with personal interest, assisted the specialists. Quite a few interesting, and sometimes original, planning and technical solutions, which are impressive for the scale of what is contemplated, were found.

Judging by their responses, our readers have accepted the draft of the new General Plan, but, educated by their experience in the recent past, they are expressing concern for the fate of its implementation. In the first place, they are asking themselves the questions: Where is the guarantee that the plan will be effective in restraining the city's dangerous growth in the foreseeable future? Is it realistic that the city's population size will not exceed the planned 9.8 million residents by the year 2010?

There are grounds for such concern. The specialists have calculated: If Moscow's automatic population growth continues at the current rates, it will be necessary, before the century's end, to fill solid with buildings, not only the greenbelt and the entire capital city oblast, but neighboring regions as well. In that case, Moscow will surpass dozens of foreign countries, not just in number of inhabitants, but even in territory. A depressing prospect!

Meanwhile, the usual set of ivory-tower solutions is pitted against this prospect in the draft General Plan: It is necessary, they say, to build satellite cities, to relocate the ecologically dangerous enterprises outside the city limits, to eliminate unnecessary offices, to rescind the

resident quota altogether, etc. Undeniably, these are needful steps, but, as experience has shown, they will not have a decisive effect. Of the seven satellite cities planned several decades ago, only Zelenograd has been built. The number of offices is being reduced slowly. The resident quota was successfully established by the Moscow Metro Construction Administration, the Moscow Motor Vehicle Plant imeni I.A. Likhachev [ZIL], and the city's vocational-technical education system. It turns out, in this regard, that persons within the quota have constituted no more than 40 percent of the newcomers. And who are the rest? Well, however much residence registration is forbidden, and whatever the barriers set up for newcomers, the city will grow very rapidly. And the process is not amenable to the highest-level decrees or the strictest of passport measures, but, judging by all appearances, is becoming uncontrollable.

Let us set aside the personal motives for which people stream into cities—these are too varied. Let us address the conformity to economic laws of mass population movements into capital cities. Large cities' attractive force for industry is obvious: Within them are great scientific potential, educated personnel, and a diverse social infrastructure. All of these things are actually provided to an enterprise free of charge. The city pays for them. Is it right that the government departments are blissfully happy at the local soviets' expense? "Of course not," feels our reader, economist V. Malin. "The enterprises should pay a progressive tax, depending upon the number of their workers, to the local soviets for all of the city benefits. This same principle should also be extended to any sort of agency's offices." In the opinion of the letter's author, this approach would make it possible to retain in the capital and the large cities only those industrial plants and organizations in which work of high skill and scientific content is required.

The suggestion appears worthy of consideration. Seemingly, it can be developed even further. In Riga, for example, the enterprises allocate 20,000 rubles to the city for each newly hired worker, which amount goes into the social amenity sphere's development; in Kiev, they allocate 12,400 rubles; and in Cheboksary, 12,200. But why, one asks oneself, is there payment just for the newcomers? The Barnaul City Soviet's executive committee has set itself the goal of computing the cost of a working urbanite's residing in the city, and of imposing such costs on the enterprises.

Incidentally, even the ground in a city costs money. It has been calculated that each square meter of city territory costs the local soviets 100-150 rubles. At the same time, the cities' area has grown by 300,000 hectares in the country, just during the last 5-year plan. Is this "living space" expansion justified? By no means. For example, the industrial zone's building density in Moscow is one-third to one-half as great as its normative value. In all, there are about 1,400 hectares of so-called reserve zones, but actually vacant tracts, in the capital city. How many apartment houses it would have been

possible to build on these tracts! Then Moscow probably would not have had to go beyond its city limits and put multistory towers on the country fields of Butovo, Kosino, and Solntsevo....

Let us consider something else awhile: The real value of land in the capital city fluctuates, depending upon the availability of communications, from 500,000 to 3 million rubles per hectare. It may be time to legalize these values, and present a substantial bill to the government department owners of the vacant tracts.

"Today one is told, as about the greatest wonder, that it is necessary to ride a bus from workshop to workshop at ZIL. This, however, is not a wonder at all, but scandalous mismanagement—neither more nor less!" fumes Muscovite A. Takhiyan. "In the West, the owner of such a plant would long ago have gone bankrupt or moved the plant to the hinterland. It is an insupportable luxury to have one's own city within a capital city...." But with us, as you see, the action is entirely permissible. And I wish ZIL alone considered a substantial chunk of city territory its own domain! Dozens of government departments, virtually exempt from the soviets' control, have sliced Moscow into choice pieces like a pie. It reaches the point of absurdity: The Ministry of Construction in the Northern and Western Regions of the USSR, and the Ministry of Construction in the Southern Regions of the USSR, the construction sites of which are located thousands of kilometers away to the north and south, as follows from their titles, prefer not to part with the capital city asphalt, especially since it does not cost them a single kopeck.

The protracted conflict between government department self-importance and the city's interests can be ended by replacing the present administrative relations with specifically economic-accountability ones: "You wish to maintain an office or industrial plant in the capital city—You pay for it at the full evaluation rate."

In short, the city needs economic accountability. The new General Plan needs economic accountability. Otherwise it will become a series of pretty pictures on themes of the future. Any project—and the General Plan is an immense project—needs well-organized financial and material support. Otherwise, it is not a working document, but dreams. Therefore, I should like to see an addendum to the new project in the form of a Moscow economic-accountability ledger.

By the way, precisely this "self-serving" approach of Western capital city governments, alien to us, nevertheless led to those cities' being cleared of harmful industrial plants and superfluous offices. For example, almost half of its industrial enterprises left Tokyo: It turned out to be more profitable for them to move to the hinterland than to pay the high rents and fines. Following their numerous offices, nearly a million employees of these moved to a London suburb. One has only to stroll along the Paris streets to see: Nongovernment people now are

their masters. Dictated by economic reasons, a natural process of unburdening the capital cities is taking place throughout the world. Moscow is the only exception.

Ye. Chebykina, a Library imeni V.I. Lenin employee, correctly writes: The gigantism disease is insatiable and all-consuming. The constant and practically uncontrolled population growth, by 100,000 persons annually, has become the main factor complicating the solution of Muscovites' social problems. Stopping it is possible only by eliminating the pressure from government departments and strengthening the Moscow City Soviet of People's Deputies' influence over the processes taking place in the capital. Only in this is there a guarantee that the fate of its predecessors will not overtake the new General Plan.

Pollution Endangers Volga Fish Population
18000999a Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in
Russian 6 May 89 p 1

[Article by TASS Correspondent N.Milov, special for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, from Ulyanovsk: "The Result of Ichthyologists' Visit"]

[Text] "In special bulletins of the Public Committee to Save the Volga I often read about the troubling situation in the reservoirs, especially in the Kuybyshev one. That reservoir is highly polluted and the fish is sick there. Therefore, I was greatly surprised to find out that the Ulyanovsk Oblast ispolkom passed a special decision to increase commercial fishing. How could it be? What was that decision based on? I am asking the Save Volga Committee and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA to get to the bottom of it."

[Signed] N. Shumkov, Ulyanovsk Oblast

From the time the ice starts to melt and almost to the middle of summer, navigation on all rivers flowing through Ulyanovsk Oblast into the Volga is now forbidden; the ban includes even recreational motor boats. The decision was passed by the Ulyanovsk Oblast ispolkom to ensure the preservation and increase of fish stocks during the spawning season.

Simultaneously, fishing was completely banned between May 11 and June 19 in the Berezov, Staromaysk, Cheremshansk, Turgenev and Ivanov bays of the Kuybyshev reservoir. It is understandable. Those bays are the major spawning grounds for most valuable aquatic denizens. But these measures can still only be termed half-measures.

The same April 14 decision gave a blessing—there is no other word for it—to commercial fishing at all other areas of the vast reservoir effectively for the entire spawning season. Limitations are in force only between May 21 and June 19. But they only require using

large-mesh nets and ban the so-called intensive fishing methods. Why these clear contradictions emanating from so respected an authority?

The problem is that the oblast had been visited in late March by respected scholars who decreed that Ulyanovsk commercial fishermen catch too little fish and that production must be raised from 3,000 tons to 4,000 tons within a year. The ispolkom prepared its decision based on those recommendations.

Indeed, from March 28 to March 30 Ulyanovsk hosted a scientific conference of ichthyologists assessing the effectiveness of seasonal fishing schedules in the Volga-Kama cascade. L.Kuderskiy, the director of the State Research Institute of Fisheries, chaired the forum. A.Poddubniy, Ph.D., and V.Kiselev, deputy minister of the RSFSR Fisheries Ministry, took part in the conference. They were the ones who visited the oblast party committee and painted the bright picture. And not to the party committee alone. The ichthyologists' recommendations included also the following: "To inform the RSFSR Council of Ministers and Gosplan, as well as the State Fisheries Agency, that the reservoirs of the Volga-Kama cascade contain underutilized fish resources and to recommend to the State Fisheries Agency to take necessary organizational steps to increase commercial fishing in those reservoirs."

But are there grounds for such optimism?

Let us refer to the studies a well-known Ulyanovsk ecologist, docent of the local teacher's college V.Nazarenko, Candidate in Biology, conducted over a period of many years. Based on copious data gathered in the course of his observations over three decades, Vladimir Alekseyevich concluded:

"Today, the situation in the Kuybyshev reservoir has reached a dead-end, critical stage: natural reproduction of fish population has stopped and production of mutants is on the increase.

"The problem is not only the impending loss of an important food resource," continued Nazarenko. "The Volga fish itself has become the container and carrier of cancerogenic and birth defect-producing substances and it is dangerous for human health; it should not be served at the dinner table without proper inspection. The time has come when it is necessary if not to ban fishing altogether, at least to put commercial and recreational fishing under extremely strict sanitary controls."

The Fisheries Research Institute's L.Kuderskiy did not quite deny the concerns expressed by Nazarenko and those who share his opinion but actively discounted them. The resolution passed by the leading ichthyologists states: "To resolve, jointly with the RSFSR Ministry of Health, the issue of inspecting edible fish for the content of commercial pesticides and sodium compounds of heavy metals." It would seem that the ichthyologists have

added this sentence for the sake of appearance, since any decisive efforts to carry it out are yet to be detected. Nor is there any irresistible desire to publicize the plight of the Volga. The conference's participants mumbled something about "writing a report to policy-making bodies" on the environmental situation in the reservoirs of the Volga-Kama cascade.

"Why such secrecy at a time when the Volga is on the verge of a disaster?" stressed concerned Nazarenko. "For instance, in the Kuybyshev reservoir we are witnessing a process known to biologists as secondary pollution of the reservoir, or bioatrophism. This is a warning sign that something even worse than cholera may soon break out."

As we have seen, the representatives of the official science which reports to the State Fisheries Agency came up with an overly light-hearted assessment of the situation.

Solovyev Meets Charity Activists

18000999b Leningrad *LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA*
in Russian 21 Apr 89 p 1

[LenTASS report: "Meeting at the Charity Society"]

[Text] To teach people charity and humanism and to encourage the public to help the sick, the disabled, the aged and others in need is the goal of the "Leningrad" charitable society. Founded a year ago in our city, this society—the first such group in the country—has already earned the grateful recognition of those whom its 5,000 members are disinterestedly helping. Among the society's founders are the Leningrad section of the Journalists' and Cinematographers' Unions and of the Theatrical Union, the city's writers' organization, the VLKSM gorkom, a number of higher education institutions and the editorial staff of the NEVA literary journal. Following the Leningraders' example, similar societies have been formed in a number of cities and union republics.

Yesterday, Yu.F.Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee's Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad Oblast party committee, met with the society's representatives. The society's president, writer D.A.Granin, described its various activities, from everyday assistance in the home or work in hospitals, nursing homes and orphanages.

Yu.F.Solovyev highly praised the selfless work of the society's members. He heard reports about the current state and the prospects of the charity movement, assessed problems it faces and answered the activists' questions. He stressed that the society can count on the necessary assistance of party and soviet entities.

Yu.A.Denisov, a secretary of the Leningrad Oblast party committee, also took part in the meeting.

Russian-Mari Glossary Published

18000999c Moscow *SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA* in
Russian 6 May 89 p 6

[Report by V.Vorobyev, from Yoshkar-Ola: "Mari Phrase Book"]

[Text] In recent years, the interest in the Mari ASSR toward the study of the language of the indigenous nationality has increased. The Mari book publishing house has issued the first mass edition of the Russian-Mari phrase book. It contains more than 1,500 most common words and expressions.

Literacy Sought for Siberian Tribe

18000998 Moscow *SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA* in
Russian 26 Apr 89 p 2

[Interview with V.I. Rassadin, chief scientific worker of the USSR Academy of Sciences Buryat Institute of Social Sciences Department of Languages, by A. Gamov, correspondent: "ABC Book for the Tofalars"]

[Text] A decision has been taken to create a written language for the Tofalars - a nationality small in numbers inhabiting the Eastern Sayan Mountains. One of the leading linguists of Siberia - the chief scientific worker of the languages department of the Buryat Institute of Social Sciences of the Siberian Branch of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, doctor of philology V. I. Rassadin - is working intensively on the execution of the special social order which has already been in progress for a year and a half. Our correspondent talked with him.

[Gamov] Valentin Ivanovich, do you agree that not every linguist has a chance in life to create a written language for an entire people, however few in number they might be...

[Rassadin] Don't forget the times in which we live. It is possible that just a few years ago, a similar decision would have provoked a skeptical smile in many on whom its realization depended: why would the Tofalars, who number little more than 700 persons, need their own written language? Isn't it enough to speak in their native tongue and to write in Russian? Now the question is put differently: every nation and people, regardless of their number, has the right to its own culture, language and written language. In this plan the Irkutsk oblispolkom is coming forward with a very important initiative.

[Gamov] But what does creating a written language signify in concrete terms? How are you working on this social order?

[Rassadin] In 1963 I had already begun to study the Tofalar language. Over these years I compiled a Tofalar-Russian dictionary, published close to 20 research papers, including some devoted to Tofalariya. This is a wonderful land, even though it occupies a very small

territory in the Nizhneudinsk rayon of Irkutsk oblast. There are three populated areas in Tofalariya - Alygdzher, Verkhnyaya Gutara, and Nerkha. I have had to go out there more than once on expeditions during which we collected local folklore and studied the history, culture, traditions and customs of this people. Therefore, when work on creating an alphabet began, my human contacts proved to be very much to the purpose.

The Tofalar language belongs to the Turkish family of languages, and therefore my knowledge of Tuva, Buryatsk and other languages proved useful to me. I am Russian, but it wasn't hard work to study and comprehend the acoustic system of the Tofalar language and to develop its transcription. The Cyrillic alphabet was taken as a base. It is true that there were not enough letters in the Russian alphabet - 42 were required. Therefore I had to "invent" some symbols, that is, on the whole, to take them from the alphabets of other peoples. That is how the Tofalar alphabet was born.

[Gamov] How did the Tofalars themselves regard it?

[Rassadin] Before taking the final decision and putting the dots on the alphabet, I and the workers of the administration of people's education of the Irkutsk oblsopolkom went more than once to those populated areas where the Tofalars live, conducted assemblies, asked advice, discussed and pronounced every letter together. We hope the alphabet will last forever. I confess this was a very absorbing work, comparable to no other. It is difficult for me to convey the atmosphere which reigned during those days in the Tofalar villages. In earlier years we talked a lot about the feeling of national self-consciousness but did not always understand what that is. I had the good fortune to ascertain for myself how great this feeling is among our smaller nationalities.

[Gamov] And so, the alphabet is ready, the work is coming to an end...

[Rassadin] I think it has just begun. Of course the Scientific Research Institute of the National Schools of the Ministry of People's Education of the RSFSR has already approved the proposed version and we hope that by the beginning of the school the first 600 copies of the Tofalar ABC book will be published by the Vostochno-Sibirsk Publishing House. A little later a reader will be published in approximately the same number of copies. By the way, these textbooks can be used not only by the first-graders for whom they were made, but also by adults. Before the scholars now stands the task of preparing in the next year or two textbooks for students in grades 2, 3, and 4.

Furthermore, we have to prepare Tofalar language teachers, and it is for exactly this purpose that we will go on a business trip to Nizhneudinsk rayon. We hope that the native language will be taught in all schools where representatives of this nationality are living. We must already think about publishing literature in the Tofalar

language, especially children's literature. While there was no written language, there were no books. Who knows, perhaps the day is not far off when we will witness the birth of the first literary work created in the Tofalar language.

[Gamov] Valentin Ivanovich, before the revolution, nearly all small nationalities of Russia, especially those living in the north and in Siberia, were without their own written language. During the years of Soviet power, the overwhelming majority acquired one. None the less, even now, judging from several sources, nearly two dozen small nationalities inhabiting our country do not have the chance to read and write in their native tongue. Is there any certainty that they, like the Tofalars, will get such a fortunate chance in the near future?

[Rassadin] I think there should be no doubt about it. At least the question is put in such a way that a majority of those nationalities which don't yet have a written language will have one by 1995. I hope that in perspective, work will be conducted more actively in this direction, which would strengthen the family of our peoples even more.

Association To Plan Northern Settlements
18000997 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in
Russian 26 Apr 89 p 6

[Article by D. Usachev, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA correspondent: "Man in the North"]

[Text] Sverdlovsk—A dog team and a driver on a dogsled against the background of the northern lights.... This emblem of a unique transcontinental expedition along the northern Arctic Ocean using sled-dogs appeared several months ago on a beautiful old private residence in the center of Sverdlovsk. The words "Scientific Realization Association" have been added to the familiar name "SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Newspaper Polar Expedition" on the emblem.

Why did the expedition need to become an association also? The newspaper answered this question on 16 February of last year in the interview "Drawing Near to a Dream." Having travelled 10,000 kilometers of Arctic coast and having seen how acutely deprived of elementary civilized comforts the northerners are, the young Sverdlovsk researchers established by means of sociological surveys what the native people and the builders, geologists and gas workers imagined a normal life to be. Interesting projects were born, but how should they be realized? The usual way—designing, financing and a long search for materials and customers with contractors—threatened to destroy the good ideas in bureaucratic networks of concurrences, coordinations and settlements. In order to avoid all of these long-drawn-out proceedings, it was decided to establish a scientific

realization association which, by relying on a combination of state and cooperative ownership forms, would itself study the problem of developing the north, design new settlements and construct them.

A year has passed. Let us throw open the doors of the old building and look at how the association is living.

A room has been crammed with sacks. Here, in the scientific design buro, they were annoyed that I had not dropped in a half hour earlier. You see, the architects and designers had just said good-bye to the next potential customer—the director of a large construction trust from Nizhnevartovsk. Just as many others, this representative of the Tyumen north was, of course, interested in a housing module being developed in the association. The economic executive left reassured.

The design of this housing oasis is really very interesting. Imagine to yourself a small winter garden with a domed roof and, instead of walls, 30 comfortable two-storied apartments with yards plus a club for everyone, a children's play room, a workshop, and a sauna with a pool located around the perimeter of this garden. This house has no facade and the roof over the jutting-out household buildings fades into the terrain relief. It seems like a house-hill. Heat losses are reduced to a minimum, and the laying of communications to the house module costs significantly less than if the settlement consisted of 30 separately standing cottages. However, the apartments are not devoid of "cottage" conveniences; there are many storerooms, a hunter can keep dogs, and there is a place to store the equipment of fishermen and berry-pickers.

The organization is becoming an important and far-flung organization. Technical information and commercial centers, a marketing and advertising administration, a foreign economic firm—these are not all of the expedition's subunits in its present form and with its present goals. Branches of the association have been opened in Murmansk, Tyumen, Tynda, Yakutsk, and Vladivostok. Its own social investment bank has been established.

In the association, the brainstorming to design social technologies for developing the northern part of Siberia and the Far East has been placed on the Scientific Research Center—the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology is financing this subject as a state order. On their own initiative, researchers from everywhere are joining the Sverdlovsk people in this work. Here, for example, I met Vladimir Sokovnin, a scientific philosopher from Frunze who was fascinated by the general theory of the social technologies for developing the new territories as an instrument for realizing social policy. The first All-Union Scientific Practical Conference will gather the supporters of this scientific avenue together in Sverdlovsk on 27-28 April. The polar expedition provided the push for this. Academician V.

Kaznacheyev from Novosibirsk and Leningrader L. Gumilev, a well known ethnographer and doctor of historical sciences, will come to participate in it.

Everything in the private residence recalls the polar expedition: hides on the walls, northern symbolism, pictures with the subjects of the dog-sled expedition, portraits of its route group's members. I met one of them—Filipp Ardeyev, the former expedition sled driver and honored polar explorer—not far from the portrait gallery. It has already been a year since Ardeyev moved from Naryan-Mar to Sverdlovsk. In the association, he is now the chief of specialized facilities which includes a nursery for sled-dogs and will include a reindeer herd. Not so long ago, Ardeyev and a group of the association's sociologists were in Yamal and surveyed the reindeer-breeders on how to make their life better. The local inhabitants expect comfortable and cozy housing, power stations and lightly equipped schools when factories such as those in the Scandinavian countries appear on the reindeer migration routes so that the reindeer breeders will not be separated from their families while maintaining their traditional nomadic way of life and so that they can live with their wives and children. The association is also planning to establish such factories.

During recent months, Filipp Ardeyev has been very strenuously engaged in organizing the "White Festival" which is planned for the coming winter. It will be a striking national holiday whose highlight will be dog-sled races. A 1000-kilometer route has been worked out from Norilsk to Slekhard through the settlements in which Dolgan, Nganasan, Nenets, Enets, and Selkup groups live. An expense estimate exists and financing has been thought out. Very diverse exhibits—applied art, hunting trophies, ecologically safe swamp and snow vehicles, and hunting weapons—are included in the holiday's program. The Misne, Kheyro, Mengo, and Ergyron folk ensembles, which are widely known abroad but not very familiar to the local reindeer-breeders and hunters, will present concerts. Filipp Ardeyev said with bitterness that it has turned out that the peoples of the Russian north have been separated; the border conditions in the Polar region prevents their contacts.

A practice, where people tested by the North make decisions in the management board, has taken shape in the association. Filipp Ardeyev, Vladimir Karpov, Vladimir Rybin, and Gennadiy Cheurin—all of them participated in that very famous dog-sled expedition whose emblem remains in the association's emblem.

Nina Andreyeva Meets Leningrad Students
18000955 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian 4 Apr 89 p 3

[Article by Vladimir Kozhemyakin, from school newspaper LENINGRADSKIY UNIVERSITET: "Procession of Kings Without Clothes"]

[Text] People kept asking me why I wanted to write about Nina Andreyeva, promoting yet again her personality and ideas? For an piece like this, even if critical of

the author of the article on principles, would still play into the hands of stalinists. But I told myself that I would write it for the same reason we write about Shekhovtsov the truth-seeker, Bondarev the writer and Vasilyev the politician: in order to understand who they really are, what they are fighting for and what kind of life they want to bring us.

By inviting Nina Aleksandrovna Andreyeva, the physical chemistry teacher, to a public discussion, students at the physical chemistry engineering department of the Leningrad Institute of Technology did not want to provide a forum for totalitarian ideas. On the contrary, they offered that legendary person an opportunity to appear before the young audience and show them her true face. My report about that event pursues the same aim, and readers will be able to judge for themselves Nina Andreyeva and her role in the current revolutionary perestroika (or perestroika revolution).

How Nina Andreyeva Wrote Her Article "I Cannot Yield on My Principles"

In addition to students, the auditorium's doors were open to anyone who wished to come, to people off the street. Those who did not get a seat remained standing.

Nina Andreyeva began her speech with lofty declarations: "If we insist on a single point of view, our common cause will suffer," "If we are allowed to defend our opinions supporting arguments in hand, it will only help our socialist society," etc. She denied that the famous article was written by several people. She criticized subjective statements by journalists who had attacked that article without first meeting its author. She stressed that none of the truly objective responses which more decent journalists had shown her was published. She recounted how after her article had appeared in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA foreign journalists repeatedly asked her to comment on her views; however, she turned them down, because perestroika was our own party matter and we would sort things out on our own. Only recently had she agreed to be interviewed by a reporter from the Yugoslav newspaper VIESNIK.

"I will read that interview to you, all 18 typewritten pages of it, and will answer your questions," said Nina Andreyeva. "But first I want to talk about the history of the 'I Cannot Yield on My Principles' article." According to Nina Aleksandrovna, that article grew out of her reaction to two interviews with writer Aleksandr Prokhanov which appeared in the Leningrad press. At the time Nina Aleksandrovna wanted to work in Afghanistan and was reading Prokhanov with great interest, including his book "The Tree Grows at the Center of Kabul". This is how they met, at least in absentia. She wrote two letters to Leningrad newspapers in response to Prokhanov. One letter, or rather one eighth of it dealing with Stalin's role in history, was published. The other was not answered. Moscow newspapers also turned it down. Only SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA telephoned her, asking why

she was concerned with those issues. She replied: "I am a pedagogue. These issues are related to the moral education of young people. The most important part of my work is not teaching physical chemistry but orienting young people correctly in today's political environment." SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA suggested that she combined the two letters into a shorter one, without mentioning Prokhanov. The author reworked the letters into an article, concluding it with a quote from M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the February Plenum: "We cannot yield on our principles under any pretext whatsoever." This, incidentally, is the source of the article's title. (I want to remind you that in the past many saw parallels between the article's title and that of nurse Timashuk's letter "I Cannot Yield on My Conscience" which signaled the start of the Doctors' Trial.) The editor of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA said that the article needed a touch of life and a paragraph was inserted into it without the author's knowledge describing Nina Aleksandrovna walking in the Summer Gardens in winter, admiring snow-covered statuary. In the same manner, references to quotations from academicians Bestuzhev-Lada, Samsonov and Likhachev, cinema director Zinkevich and others were taken out.

Then, she commented on the opinion that the article "I Cannot Yield on My Principles", published as it was without commentaries in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA during the General Secretary's visit to Yugoslavia, appeared as a manifesto of anti-perestroika forces. "I first heard this idea in a "Deutsche Welle" broadcast. Later, it was picked up by our own journalists and spiritual hacks. I always try to listen to Western Russian-language radio broadcasts," added Nina Aleksandrovna. "I need to know what they think of us."

What Nina Andreyeva Told the VIESNIK Correspondent

All around me, people were heatedly discussing the authoritative version of the principles article's origins, while I, sitting in the seventh row with my notebook perched on my knee, tried to jot down the main points of the interview with the Yugoslav correspondent. The first question was what the author of the famous article thought of the present state of Soviet society. In particular, the response included the following statements: "Recent events in our life have confirmed my worst fears. New social groups have emerged whose interests diverge from those of the party and the working class..." Further, there were some rather frank statements which allow me today to say proudly to my colleagues and friends that I have seen and heard the real Nina Andreyeva:

"The cult of profit, fanning of interethnic conflict and propaganda of the multiparty system cause unspoken concern among the Soviet people... Our party is a communist party, not a perestroika party... I received more than 5,000 letters of gratitude and support. This proves that I am right. Against me are relatives of expropriated

kulaks and victims of repressions and angry Zionists... The theses of the 19th party conference contained no mention of the country's communist future. They did not state that only that is acceptable and useful which serves such future... A new class has appeared in our society, consisting of 100,000 millionaires who are allied with the corrupt bureaucratic apparatus. They promote de-ideologization, demoralization, cooperative activity, nationalism and the cult of profit; they opine on who should hold power. They represent bourgeois liberals and among them there are some highly placed party members. We need to set an income ceiling for party members, to keep bourgeois liberals in the ranks of the CPSU from establishing their own version of communism... In China, the prevailing assessment of Mao Zedong is that even though he made mistakes, there was more positive in his actions. I agree with this assessment of Mao and Stalin. I am even more impressed with the assessment of Josef Bros Tito in Yugoslavia. By furiously attacking Stalin, some critics, including our spiritual hacks Shatrov, Volkogonov, Rybakov and Selyunin, are setting their sights at Lenin... Sholokhov and marshals Vasilevskiy and Zhukov gave publicly a wise assessment of Stalin's activities... Illegalities occurred despite Stalin... Neither the French Revolution nor Napoleon did more for history than Stalin. We owe our very existence to him..."

The words spoke for themselves. I was sorry that Nina Andreyeva was unable to finish all 18 pages of her Yugoslav interview, but the audience was out of control. Some cried, laughed, booed or shouted preposterous threats against the speaker while others applauded continuously; only Nina Andreyeva, calm as a yogi, patiently stood on the podium above this Sodom and seemed to mock the disorderly crowd.

What Nina Aleksandrovna Answered to Students

To restrain the audience, it was decided to go on to the question and answer period. Most questions were asked by students.

[Students] Do you have the support of any Politburo members?

[Andreyeva] I have seen Politburo members only on television. I do not know any of them personally.

[Students] What do you think of Ligachev?

[Andreyeva] As a party member, I can judge another party member only by his deeds. It is still too early to judge Comrade Ligachev's accomplishments as Chairman of the Agricultural Commission of the Central Committee. Moreover, I am not an expert on agriculture.

[Students] Do you not think that the October Revolution was a mistake? Without it, we probably would have been earning 600 rubles a month, just as people do in the West.

[Andreyeva] Things are not as great in the West as our spiritual hacks are trying to make us believe. Not all members of the working class can afford to buy goods in the stores and there are many who are unemployed and hungry.

[Students] After working as student interns in capitalist countries, we have come away convinced that it is rather easy to find work in the West and those who do not work there are mainly drug addicts, drunks, the psychologically disturbed and in general, sick or lazy people. In America, for instance, there is no working class at all, only the bourgeoisie.

[Andreyeva] I have never been abroad. The only thing I can tell you is that the working class lives well in America because America exploits Third World countries.

[Students] And why do we live in such poverty?

[Andreyeva] If we all lived honestly and did not steal, we would live better. Our problem is that we chase after material goods too much. A person can walk around in a pair of underwear and be happy, or have a blonde in champagne and be miserable.

[Students] Please name at least five bourgeois liberals, those who you insist are pushing us toward capitalism.

[Andreyeva] This is a provocation. Read Comrade Cherbrikov's speeches, you will find everything there.

[Students] What is your attitude toward the thousands of unjustly executed?

[Andreyeva] It is unfair to pile everyone together and to think that none of the repressed were guilty.

[Students] Stalin had all the commanding officers of the army shot. And now we have to thank him for the victory, right?

[Andreyeva] Milyukov, a former minister in the Kerenskiy government, thought that in the course of preparing for a draining war, Stalin was cleaning his own backyard, ridding himself of those who would have hampered a successful war effort.

[Students] Why does criticism of Stalin aim at Lenin?

[Andreyeva] I am not a literary critic.

[Students] What do you think of "Pamyat's" activities?

[Andreyeva] It is doing important work protecting Russian antiquities and raising the dignity of the Russian people.

[Students] How do you envision communism in our country?

[Andreyeva] Just as it is stated in our party's program.

[Students] Why do you not give direct answers?

[Andreyeva] Because there are no direct questions.

And yet, there were questions, and excellent ones at that. But the legendary Nina Andreyeva skilfully avoided them, deflecting them by citing other people's opinions and repeating: "I am just a physical chemistry teacher, how would I know?" but asserting a minute later that "we borrow economic methods in the West but they will not work here" or that "the Baltic republics have good roads because Russians and Ukrainians are building up their economies," etc.

A legitimate question was asked why the most respected speaker so frequently claimed ignorance. Nina Aleksandrovna had written her world-famous article not as a teacher of physical chemistry and it did not discuss the principles of physical chemistry. But she avoided giving a direct answer once again. Instead, Nina Aleksandrovna began to recite feelingly a poem about Stalin which a Georgian poet dedicated to Yevtushenko. I recall the following line:

"What does the dead lion/care about base jackals' wailing?"

After the eighth stanza people started to leave. Then, a young man got up in one of the front rows and said: "No, you will not hear original answers here. Here, on the podium, is an average person, an ordinary teacher of physical chemistry. I have spoken to Nina Aleksandrovna at her department and have heard her here and I have finally realized that the king is naked."

Andreyeva asked the young man to introduce himself. He said: "I am not a millionaire but an engineer earning R140 a month. My last name is Pavlov." And sat down.

The debate was over. Andreyeva, clutching a bunch of carnations which someone had given her and surrounded by supporters of all ages, started toward the door. I was looking at her back, agreeing with "non-millionaire" Pavlov. But now, once again recalling her powerful stare, iron self-control and triumphant gait as she was leaving the auditorium, I am increasingly convinced that even the naked king remains a king as long as his subjects find it useful to believe him clothed. Our revolution marches on and who knows what role such kings are yet to play in it.

Kalinin Oblast Agriculture Leaders Appeal to Returning Soldiers

18000900 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Apr 89 p 2

[Appeal: "Chairmen of Collective Farms Call Former Soldiers to Tver Countryside: Take Off Your Greatcoat, Let's Go Home..."]

[Text] We consider the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium concerning a reduction of the armed forces and defense expenditures very timely and necessary. Most of all because the decrease by a half million

servicemen promises a similar increase in workers in the national economy.

The majority of you, respected soldiers, are already today wondering where you will go, what kind of occupation you will choose. We, the rural workers of the Nonchernozem Zone, are not indifferent to these difficult considerations. The ancient soil of the Upper Volga is still rich and beautiful. In our oblast, for example, there are more than 600 large and small lakes, 700 rivers, virgin coniferous forests, a tremendous number of locations with mushrooms and berries, open space for hunters and fishermen, and some of the favorite relaxation spots of the inhabitants of Leningrad and Moscow. However we also have a number of difficulties.

Most of all we are troubled by a severe shortage of working hands. The oblast, located between Moscow and Leningrad, could become the largest supplier of agricultural products for those cities. For the time being, unfortunately, our village supplies their labor force... The drain from the countryside is still continuing today.

The land needs a master, and we need helpers. From 1986 to 1988 about 5,000 families from other regions of the country were given right of residence in Kalinin Oblast. We meet these people with hospitality, we give them housing, we put together a job for them, and we help them acquire livestock and everything else that peasant life requires. In the oblast we are steadfastly working towards the social reorganization of the countryside. Every year about 5,000 apartments are erected and schools, kindergartens, and Houses of Culture are built. A program of social development for the village, adopted just recently, will broaden our possibilities still more, we are sure of it.

We do not list all this as an "enticement," but rather to show how the oblast lives and what you can expect here. We do not intend to embellish the truth. We do not promise manna from heaven or a carefree life. But with your aid, our dear soldiers, we hope to continue improving the ancient Russian earth, that same soil which you steadfastly defended. Believe us, your vital tempering and experience and your ability to withstand hardship are needed for the rebirth of the non-black-earth village.

We are sure that many of you are children of peasants. And so we believe that your dreams of your own home with a garden and a kitchen-garden can become reality much sooner than you suppose. There are such houses in large villages on central farmsteads, and there are many of them in half-deserted small villages; but hands are needed to set them right, to repair, to build steam heating, and to create other comforts.

It is especially necessary to talk about the work. It is possible to work on a state farm or a collective farm, in a workshop, it is possible to form a cooperative, and we

will lease earth, livestock, and equipment to those who wish it. We believe that if we discuss this or that plan together we will find common ground.

Considering this difficult question (a change in occupation, in place of residence), we find that the Ministry of Defense and USSR Goskomtrud [State Committee of Labor and Social Problems] will facilitate our union with you; they are charged with rendering assistance in job placement and in securing housing to servicemen transferred to the reserves or retired. Of course we concede that after many years of service in remote garrisons with harsh climatic conditions the families of some servicemen will be in need of, and have the right to, especially comfortable, urban surroundings. But it has long been acknowledged that life in nature, in the countryside, is the best doctor. In this case why can't the Ministry of Defense, with allocated subsidies and materials, build modern housing not only in the cities but in the village as well? A choice must, without fail, be available in this matter. Concern for former soldiers should not be shown in identical fashion, according to one pattern. If you want an apartment in a multistory building, head to the city soviet, and if you intend to register in a village, welcome to a country log hut! It will be more fair this way.

Think about it—write us, visit us. The address is simple: Kalinin, Pobeda prospect, 53, Oblast Agricultural Committee.

[Signed] Delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference N. Belyakov, chairman of the Probuzhdeniye collective farm, S. Mironov, director of the Krasnaya Niva collective farm, and I. Paplevchenkov, chairman of the Krasnyy Putilovets collective farm, chairman of the oblast soviet of collective farms, and USSR people's deputy.

Lithuanian MVD Reports to Citizens

18001112a Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
13 Apr 89 p 3

[Article by L. Koritskaya: "For Consolidation of Efforts"]

[Text] The leading officials of the republic Ministry of Internal Affairs held a meeting with the public at the LiSSR MVD Palace of Culture.

Militia Lt Gen S. Lisauskas, Lithuanian SSR Minister of Internal Affairs, acquainted the gathering with the operational situation in the republic. He noted the the level of crime has increased by 67.5 percent over the last ten years. In the last year alone, the number of crimes increased by 1,300 in comparison with 1987. And in the first quarter of this year the number of especially severe crimes—such as murder, robbery, embezzlement of state property, and theft of personal property in especially large amounts—have increased by 60 percent in comparison with the same period last year.

It is unusual and painful to hear such figures. But glasnost and truthfulness are now dearer to us than embellishment of "well-being."

The minister cites one figure after another; but not to arouse fear in the people. No, he speaks frankly about the causes of such an alarming situation; gives advice; and suggests that we give some thought to how to wage the struggle with crime better and more effectively.

"First of all," the Minister noted, "the general crime situation in the republic has gotten worse. In spite of adopting a resolution on the struggle with drunkenness, it is on the increase. In the first quarter of this year alone, 37.7 percent of all crimes were committed by people in a drunken condition.

"In 1988 people's courts sentenced only 33 percent of those convicted to deprivation of freedom. The MVD believes it is necessary to change the judicial practice in the direction of more severe sentences: especially for the worst violators of the laws. While trying the cases, one must not forget about the victims—those who were beaten up or maimed; and those whose apartments were broken into or who were robbed on the street."

The minister noted with alarm that recently ties between the militia and the public have become much weaker. The number of voluntary people's militia [druzhina] has declined significantly, and comrades' courts and other social institutions have practically ceased to operate. Undoubtedly all this has a negative effect on the effectiveness of the militia.

The level of disclosure of crime remains low. Is it not a paradox that at times, instead of assistance on the part of the people one feels their overt sympathy to law-violators, or simply indifference?

It is no accident that the amount of crime has risen on domestic soil and in the family. Statistics confirm that every other murderer or murder victim is a relative. A hostile, unhealthy atmosphere in the family quite often leads to tragedy. For example, in Shalchininskiy Rayon a young man in a drunken state took a relative's hunting rifle, shot his mother and father, and clubbed his younger brother to death with the gun butt.

One could cite numerous other examples of the unruly behavior in the family by people who, strange as it may seem, are considered "good" workers on the job. Working collectives hardly ever react properly to such information on them from the law-enforcement organs.

The minister focused attention sharply on the growth of major embezzlement of state property. Not long ago the investigative organs sent ten volumes of criminal cases to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court. Over a period of several years cashiers and bookkeepers at one of the

boarding schools had embezzled 127,000 rubles. And incidentally, agency inspections had been made frequently, and everything was "smooth" there...

The public justly demands, as Lisauskas noted, that speculators be rooted out. But, it is a consequence of the continual shortage of goods. Quite often, it is true, that is caused by the trade workers themselves, in gross violation of the rules. Worker control can do a great deal in maintaining order. On its part, the police intend to beef up the service occupied with exposing abuses in trade.

Motor vehicle accidents remain one of the worst problems. Hundreds of people in the republic are buried each year—victims of auto accidents. The main cause is—drunken driving, which is not on the decline. Thus far neither warnings from police officers, nor administrative measures have made any "impression" on the "spirited" drivers. Even issuance of special license numbers for drunkards for their personal vehicles has not had any special effect. There are cases in which such people show up in a drunken condition again and again. The republic government has supported the ministry's proposal that an automobile owner arrested in a drunken state in his car a second time, will have his vehicle confiscated. Such vehicles will then be sold through second-hand stores.

Militia Colonel Ye. Matuzanis, chief of the Vilnius UVD [Internal Affairs Administration] has thoroughly analyzed the crime situation in the republic's capital.

Other leading officials of the ministry answered numerous questions as well.

Those attending the meeting were informed of the fact that very soon a new law on the militia will appear, and an order on its legal defense. The structure of certain services will be changed, with a view toward strengthening them. Already established are special subdivisions for the fight with organized crime and racketeers. The investigative services and the Criminal Investigation Department have been beefed up. All of this should play its role in preventing violation of the law. But the militia needs the public's help.

Unfortunately, even during the meeting one could feel a certain amount of ill will toward the militia on the part of some of the people who had come to the meeting. And after all, it is a question of their own security and peace. Confrontation and lack of understanding with respect to the militia are promoting significant growth in crime.

Compensation for Victims of Stalinism

18001112b Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
16 Apr 89 p 3

[ELTA report: "Compensation for the Exiles of the Stalin Period"]

[Text] Payment of compensation has begun for those who lost their possessions during the exile period, 1941-1952. By 1 April the amount of compensations

amounted to about 5.5 million rubles. The Finance Ministry reported on this at a session of the republic Commission on the Property and Personal Rights of Rehabilitated Persons. Pyatras Ignotas, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers conducted the session.

According to data from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, during that period, 37,362 families were exiled from Lithuania, or 120,926 people in all. All of them were rehabilitated by the decree of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers of 20 September 1988, and an order of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 21 October that same year.

Compensation for the possessions of those exiled is presented to those holding documents on rehabilitation. The Internal Affairs Ministry is compiling and issuing lists of the rehabilitated people. Rayon executive committees have already been sent lists with respect to the rehabilitation of 33,700 people. In addition, more than 8,000 certificates of rehabilitation have been issued at the ministry itself. It was reported at the session, that by early 1990 all the victims should have received such documents.

While resolving questions on returning possessions to rehabilitated persons, city and rayon executive committees must strictly observe Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers Decree No 368 of 27 December 1988. This was stressed at the session during discussion of the report of the Pasvalskiy Rayispolkom on the work carried out in this area.

It was explained at the session that persons who avoided eviction and for whom the question of return of possessions is being resolved by court procedure, may be exempted from state taxes by the appropriate people's court. Meanwhile, the descendants of rehabilitated exiled and condemned persons have already been exempted from this tax by decision of the Lithuanian SSR Finance Ministry. Attention was also devoted to the fact that providing housing to rehabilitated persons and their children must be resolved in accordance with the Statute on the Procedure for Furnishing Living Accommodations in the Lithuanian SSR. It was approved by decree of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers and Lithuanian Republic Trade Union Council No 16 of 25 January 1989.

Catholic Organization Restored

18001112c Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
18 Apr 89 p 3

[ELTA report: "Congress of 'Karitas' Held"]

[Text] Nearly 4,000 delegates and guests from all cities and many villages of Lithuania took part in the founding congress of the Catholic Women's Association, "Karitas," held 15-16 April in the Kaunas Sports Hall.

Even before the war, the Karitas Association, whose concern is personal moral conduct and rendering assistance to the poor and the unfortunate, had been functioning in Lithuania. Perestroyka and national revival have created the conditions for the restoration of this organization. Chapters of the organization are successfully operating in Kaunas, Panevezhis, Mariyampol, Utenė and other places. The congress was convened in order to discuss and adopt a program and the regulations of the association, and to elect its leading organs.

Cardinal Vintsentas Sladkyavichyus, chairman of the Lithuanian Episcopal Conference, welcomed the ladies taking part in the congress, and stressed that the Karitas Association promotes such values as love, truth, kindness and mercy.

Yu. Paletskis, chief of the the Lithuanian CP Central Committee Ideological Department read greetings from Lithuanian CP Central Committee First Secretary Algirdas Brazauskas, wishing the congress success.

The congress was also greeted by Paulys Baltakis, bishop of the Lithuanian emigre community.

The speakers stressed that families are the roots of the nation: as the family is, so is the nation. Unfortunately, in Lithuania there are many unhappy families, which have forgotten their chief responsibility—to bring up their children in the spirit of morality. Therefore Karitas will be very deeply concerned with strengthening the family, and will try to cultivate a proper attitude toward the family in society. For those who plan to start a family, and for young couples, the association will be organizing courses and lectures on family responsibilities, and will promote the moral upbringing of the children. Along with other organizations, its goal is to strive to return to women and mothers a position of respect in the life of the nation; and it will strive to reduce the workday for women with families, and a ban on performing work dangerous for maternity. Karitas is also concerned that young women learn to run a home and that they are capable of handling the family budget.

Several of the speakers believe that, if the parents desire, the children should be given the opportunity to learn the Divine Law. Sundays should be a day off for everyone, and they should be spent in the family circle. The fact of the matter is, that the nation has suffered from the war and repression; it has lost many talented people; and alienation, pragmatism and a cult of materialism reigns in society. But the members of the association see an opportunity to eliminate these negative phenomena in striving with every means to restore and develop national self-awareness, and to strengthen ties among people of the various nationalities and convictions. Karitas will cultivate love for one's native language and one's Motherland, and respect for one's parents and ancestors. It will also strive to resurrect national, religious and family holidays, and the tradition of helping one another. Important sectors

of Karitas' activities will be aid to orphans and handicapped children, care for the sick, and help for solitary and old people. Together with other organizations, Karitas will participate in the struggle with alcoholism, narcotics addiction and prostitution.

Also taking part in the work of the congress were Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman P. Ignotas; Chairman of the Sejm Council, Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka, V. Landsbergis; Lithuanian Cultural Fund Chairman Ch. Kudaba; Children's Fund Chairman Yu. Nekroshyus; leaders of the Kaunas party gorkom and gorispolkom, and public figures. Also taking part was a large group of Catholic priests, health-care workers, and guardian and wardship workers.

An appeal to all citizens of Lithuania was adopted. It proclaims the goals of Karitas, and calls upon everyone to take part in the rebirth of society, and to live according to principles of equality, fraternity, love, kindness and mercy.

The association also elected its central board, council and inspection commission. Elected chairman of the central board was geographer Albin Payarskayte of Kaunas.

**Stalinist Crimes Investigative Commission
Member on 1941 Juodupe Liquidation**
*18000741 Vilnius KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in
Russian 7 Feb 89 pp 1, 2*

[Materials prepared by Yu. Yurgyalis, member, Public Investigative Commission on Stalinist Crimes in Lithuania: "Juodupe"]

[Text] We are revealing yet another unread page in the history of 1941. The small town of Juodupe, Rokishkskiy Rayon, was the volost (pre-Soviet territorial division) center before the war. The oldest enterprise here is a woolen fabric factory founded in 1907. There were 2,500 residents. The elders remember June 1941 well: on 24-25 June, more than one-tenth of the residents of the town and vicinity were cruelly murdered. The witnesses who remained among the living tell about this.

How They Were Arrested

Ona Melyunene, wife of Ionas Melyunas, who was shot, says:

Ionas Melyunas was born on 24 June 1901 (he was killed on his birthday—Yu.Yu.) in Dyarvonay Village, Rokishkskiy Uyezd. There were also two sisters in his family. Ionas happened to serve bosses in Latvia. We were married in 1935. My husband worked as a railroad trackman in the Vizhenkskiy woodland. He was interested in the forest and interested in Lithuania's past. He described various memorial places—the sites of ancient towns.

On 24 June 1941, they knocked on the doors and windows before sunrise. Melyunas opened it. Two armed locals came in. They ordered my husband to surrender his weapons and prepare for a journey. My husband reassured me that he would return soon. We did not even wake our little girl, in order to say good-bye.

The next day I met S. Talyus. He said that Melyunas had been taken away for heavy labor. It soon became clear that those who had been arrested had not been taken anywhere.

Stefa Bekerene-Bulovayte, sister of Pranas Bulovas, who was killed, says:

My father was a good tailor. He even sewed military clothing. My brother began learning to sew with my father. Then he went to Kaunas and got a tailor's diploma there. After marrying, he lived in Onushkis with his wife's parents. Then he moved to Juodupe. When the war began, my sister-in-law and their two children came to us in Uzhbalyay.

Here, we found out that my brother Pranas had been seized. My sister-in-law and I put together a parcel and went to the volost. We met many men that we knew there, and they asked us to give them the food. They said that those who had been arrested needed nothing. Then we went to the apartment where my brother had lived and sewn. People in the volost administration came here and took the material which my brother had had. My sister-in-law felt that something was wrong. She implored them to tell what would happen to Pranas. They avoided conversation.

We went home. The next day they reported that people had been killed in Juodupe. My sister-in-law, father and mother sat down on the cart. Night came. The women cried and father was silent. They had seen this terror.

Agne Maltsene-Shukene, wife of the murdered Yurgis Shukis, says:

I met Shukis when we worked in Latvia. We were married. My husband's family lived very poorly. We had 1 hectare of land. We bought 3 hectares on auction in the town of Paguoyay and built a hut.

On the evening of 23 June 1941, my husband was watering the kitchen-garden and I was milking the cow. Our neighbors Avdey Sapozhnikov and Margyavichyus came and took my husband. They said that they would question and release him.

In the morning I prepared a parcel and went to Juodupe. I saw how they had put my husband into the cooler. They had put six people in there. I asked Skruodis what to do. He did not reply. In the volost, passing by a room with open doors, I saw that Talyus was burning papers of some kind.

The next morning they reported that my husband had been killed. Half of his head had been chopped off.

Aneliya Vasilyauskene-Cheychene, former wife of the murdered Balis Vasilyauskas, says:

Balis Vasilyauskas and I were married in 1938. My husband was hard-working and knew carpentry. We lived in his house and had a shop. My husband was a "Shaulis." They took away our property in 1940. All three stores of Juodupe were located in our home. Margyavichyus, who also settled here, became head of the cooperative. My husband was taken for work as a sales clerk.

He was fired from work in April 1941. He found a job as a carpenter at the "Nyamunas" Factory.

On 24 June, at about 11:00, we returned from the countryside, having buried Balis' father. On entering the courtyard, we met the store watchman K. Zhindulis. He said that people with rifles had come in the evening and they had come at night. They said: if Vasilyauskas appears, tell him to take a radio to the volost. My husband went and did not return. I found out that he had been arrested. They did not need a radio.

I brought a parcel. There were many men there and guards with rifles. They were locals. They did not take my parcel: they said that Vasilyauskas did not need it. They only let him out on the staircase to talk. My husband had a pen in his pocket—the guard noticed it and threw it in my purse. He said that Vasilyauskas would not need it. They shoved my husband back. He managed only to kiss me. The guard said: "Go home and wait." And I went. I had a 3-month old daughter at home.

In the morning I brought a package again. I did not know that they were no longer alive. Staynekas stood there with a rifle. He shouted at me: "Stop! Where are you going? They took them away, they are not here anymore!" I asked why they did not take me. He answered: "If it is good for them, they will take you too." That is how he replied.

But Shlekis said: "One dog broke into a run over there—they shot him." He pointed into the rye, where they had shot Balchyunas.

Sidor Sergeyev, an activist in 1941, says:

I was a candidate member of the Communist Party in 1941. When the war began, an order arrived: round up all the "Shaulises" and hold them for a time, while we retreat. There was also an order to take bicycles, horses (of those who had two), and radios to the volost. The Komsomol members took things from anyone who would not give it up in an amicable way.

In Maneyvos, the party members were armed—Dementiy Aleynikov, Agey Aleynikov, Yefim Aleynikov and Antim Karatkov. Together with Agey, we went to Augustinavichyus to look at the bicycles, but they were old and we did not take them. At this time Balchyunas dropped into to see Augustinavichyus. Aleynikov arrested him. We took Balchyunas to Maneyvos. They kept him in a basement for a day. Then Lebedev arrived and said that Balchyunas had to be taken to Juodupe. He took him alone. However, he soon returned and said that Balchyunas had run off. Later, we found out that he had been shot (other witnesses say that they tortured Balchyunas.—Yu.Yu.).

We retreated from Maneyvos through Eyknishkis. Demka Aleynikov and his family, Krasnov, Karatkov, and Gargazhin Foma retreated along with us. Later I returned. When the Soviet Army did not come, I hid myself.

Onute Kalpokayte-Milaknene, sister of the murdered Vladas Kalpokas, says:

My brother bought a home near Juodupe sometime in 1924. He opened up a store. He got married. Before his murder, he visited his parents in Tsedeshay. His children Vladukas and Irute were here. His son, as though pre-scient, asked his father to stay.

They said that Deksnakas Yulyus, who had served with my brother, took Kalpokas.

Akviliya Zhindulene-Begdarashvilene, wife of the murdered Antanas Zhindulis, says:

Antanas Zhindulis was born in 1906 in the Juodupe apilinka, in the town of Didsod. He worked on his own farm. He was a "Shaulis."

On 23 June 1941 at about 6:00 in the morning we heard a knock on the door. My husband opened it. Two people with weapons came in. By their speech, I understood that they were Russian. They took my husband away. I never saw him again.

Stase Rinkyavichyute-Shimanauskene, sister of Pyatras Rinkyavichyus, who was killed, says:

My brother Pyatras was born in 1913. He belonged to the "Shaulis" organization. He was educated and hard-working. There were 11 children in our family. We went to work for people.

Two people with rifles took my brother on 23 June. They came from the Maneyvos area. They took him to the neighboring courtyard, where there were many arrested people. After a while, Abros Potapov brought my brother to take some small things. The same day, some Russian from Plunksnochyus also took my brother Antanas. However, they released him in the morning. My brother

Pyatras and Potapov were neighbors and friends. They grew up together. Abros said that they were going to question and release him, that they would not do anything.

...Later, I only recognized my brother Pyatras by his white sweater, he had been beaten so.

Abros Potapov says:

Pyatras Rinkyavichyus was almost a neighbor. A good person. Skrodis Styaponas and others arrested him. They went to take him, but I left for supper. They asked me to show them the way. I stood and watched what would happen. They went into the cottage... I knew Styaponas well. He said that Pyatras had hidden books and magazines.

Vale Razhinskayte-Rinkyavichene says:

I was born and raised in the little village of Razalishkis near the town of Armonyay. My father had 15 hectares of land. We had no farm laborers.

On 23 June 1941 in the morning, the dog started barking. We saw three people. One had a rifle—Silizhinskas, I don't remember his name. The second was the militia man, Antanas Valayka. They were both from the same town of Armonis. They drove a third in front of them. This was Pranas Mazheykis, who went by the nickname "Singer"—he had agitated for the purchase of sewing machines.

Near our house, Valayka took out a pistol, entered the kitchen and ordered Father to get dressed. He ordered him to take food for just one day.

It turned out that they released father from Juodupe. He had not yet returned (he went through the forest), before two people with rifles came tearing along. They looked for my father in all the rooms. They did not find him and left, but they instructed us: if he returns—he must present himself in Juodupe.

Ten minutes later, father returned, found this out, took food and went into the forest.

For the rest of his life, Father was grateful to the young Russian lad from the village of Vabolyay, who released him. I do not remember the lad's name. His father had come to the village to live by begging—he also never had to pass by our yard, without my parents giving him food.

How They Were Tried

Little is known about the "court." The "judges," it seems, are no longer alive. Death sentences were passed. A single convict who is still alive is known—Antanas Rinkyavichyus, the brother of the murdered Pyatras Rinkyavichyus. He told his friend Vitautas Lyaudanskas:

When they took me out of prison to the administration, the "court" was sitting there: Styaponas Talyus, Kostanauskas and Margyavichyus. I had worked as a farm laborer in Latvia with Kostanauskas. He looked at me and said that I could go. I asked what would become of my brother. He answered that he would soon return.

Stase Rinkyavichyute also confirmed that Kostanauskas, from the village of Brizgyay, released her brother Antanas. They were acquaintances.

How They Were Killed

Ksaveriya Kastyanene says:

I lived and now live 200 meters from the place where on 24 June 1941 they tortured the calm, peaceful people of Juodupe, Lithuanians.

That night our family—my husband, myself and my sister—did not sleep. The whole night we heard the rumble of vehicles being driven, mixed now with a moan, now with a scream.

In the morning, my husband went to work. He was a storeman at the factory. He soon returned. He said that he had given the keys up to the guard and would never return there. A cart, covered with blood, stood near the warehouse. People were whispering that many had been killed that night.

While returning, my husband met Zhinka, who lived on the second floor of Vasilyauskas' home. Zhinka said that he did not sleep either. Early in the morning, he saw men washing their bloody hands near the Milaknis well.

Emiliya Zhinkene says:

We settled in Juodupe in 1940. My husband worked in a cooperative. We lived by the Vasilyauskas's. Margyavichyus, the cooperative chairman, lived there too. He was named Antanas, I think. And his wife was Tanya.

That evening Margyavichene was walking in the yard, and I called her into the room. She said that she was afraid to go home. Margyavichyus arrived, tired, and said: "I caught many rabbits." His wife asked: "Where are you going to put them?" Margyavichyus answered: "It is a lot of work—we are pushing them in a hole." At that I also went rigid.

When it grew dark, I sent the children from home to my cousin's in the village of Vyaduvichkis. We waited with fear for what would happen.

At night I heard a car. I sat by the window behind the curtain. I heard: "Be more careful, so he does not run off." I heard a shot. I ran into the yard. S. Talyus stood there. He said: "Don't raise a panic. Go back!" I went back. After a while, I heard men's footsteps. They went to Margyavichyus's. They were shouting. I went to see

what was going on. I opened the door—they asked Tanya for a basin, in order to wash. Staynis Margyavichyus, Gruodis and Deksnis were there. They immediately turned to me and drove me off. I left, not having closed the door. After a while, they left.

From the window, I saw that they were conveying human bodies. Some were barefooted, others in socks. They took them in the factory dray carts. The corpses were heaped as they fell.

In the morning, these men ate together with Shlenka the Jew at the cafeteria. My husband said that they were drunk. They said: "There were maneuvers here last night." They ate, got ready and left toward Aknista.

Aneliya Vasilyauskene-Zheychene lists the people, killed in Juodupe:

1. Antanas Balchyunas. They brought him in tortured.
2. Balchyunas from Skridulyay. He was already about 50 years old.
3. Pranas Bulovas. A tailor.
4. Vladas Kalpokas had a store in Juodupe.
5. Kanopa. Very young, from Onushkis.
6. Mazheykis. From the village of Armonis. An agent for "Singer" machines.
7. Pilkauskas. From Klaypedeskiy Kray. He was educated and worked in the factory.
8. Ionas Melyunas. A forester. He lived toward Onushkis.
9. Pyatras Rinkyavichyus. Taken from Didsod.
10. Stelenis from Skridulyay. When they wanted to arrest him, he ran. They shot him.
11. Yurgis Shukis. From Maneyvos.
12. Balis Vasilyauskas. My husband, 29 years old.
13. Antanas Zhindulis. From Didsod. A "Shaulis."

They all lived properly, and were not drinkers.

How They Were Buried

Kazis Cheychis:

On the road to Aknista there is a platform, and to the right—a rural road. A little away there are old quarries. We went there—me, my brother, Shedis (now deceased), and Varnas... We saw that the ground was stamped and there were wheel tracks. We tried digging in one place—

the ground was untouched. In another place, we dug a little—there was a jacket. The hole had been disguised: branches and grass had been scattered about.

On 26 June, they brought them all and placed them on a raised area in the Shaulis hall. It was impossible to dress them—they had been so maimed.

Adolfas Astrauskas, Jonas Kyapyanis, Lenginas Deksnis and others made coffins. Kanopa's coffin was made by his own father. He was a carpenter. The coffins were made of white boards.

Stefa Bekerene speaks:

On 27 June, I went to the funeral. There were many people. Many were crying.

My brother lay in dark clothing, in a jacket. His stomach had been cut out. Kanopa Pyatras's eyes had been put out and tongue cut off.

They were put in the coffins after supper. Before this, German officers came and photographed them from different sides.

Rinkyavichyus and my brother were taken in one cart. His father was poorly dressed (they were poor). He was crying.

Everyone was put in one hole and buried.

The Germans did not accompany us to the place of burial.

Antanas Rinkyavichyus:

My brother Pyatras had been terribly tortured. It was only possible to recognize him from the remnants of his clothing. My father, unable to contain his grief, died a month later.

Vladas Bulovas:

On 26 June, I went by bicycle. I entered the hall. I recognized my brother: he lay behind the first door. I kissed him.

Everyone was covered with dirt, cut up, eyes put out. I recognized Rinkyavichyus, Kanopa, Kalpokas, Vasilyauskas. I had studied with Kanopa.

I knelt for a while by my brother's body and then left.

Coffins were made for everyone and wooden crosses were supplied. After the war we visited the grave but were afraid to stay for long. We brought chrysanthemums for Easter. It was not even a question of candles. Vasilyauskene looked after the graves more often.

Akviliya Zhindulene-Begdarashvilene says:

Antanas Zhindulis had been very cruelly tortured: his cheeks had been cut, his tongue cut off, his stomach cut, and the finger that his engagement ring was on had been cut off.

They were all buried in the cemetery at Juodupe.

Onute Kalpokayte-Milaknene says:

My brother had been terribly tortured: his tongue was cut off, slivers had been driven under his nails, and his eyes had been put out. Mama washed her son.

After the war, the authorities forbid us to visit the graves.

In 1981, after 40 years, relatives came and wanted to honor those who had died. A public service was forbidden in Juodupe. Later, they decided to meet at Vasilyauskene's. When they met in the church, Vasilyauskene warned that the authorities were forbidding it.

Now they have decided to erect a monument. The priest promised to find a master craftsman.

Some Additional Circumstances

Yet another story (the witness asked not to be named, complaining of her poor health and weak heart):

June 24 was a very pretty day. Young men with weapons had arrived on bicycles three times. They asked about my husband. They threatened to lay me out on the spot. But my husband really was not home. He was in Rokishkis.

This is how it happened to him. He was walking down the street. A pleasant young man caught up to him and starting talking. He asked if he was from Juodupe. Then he asked him to go into a building: it was necessary to deliver certain documents to Juodupe. He went in, and they immediately arrested him. They locked him in the basement. The basement was full of people, there was nothing to breathe. At night airplanes started flying. They dropped bombs not far away, it seems. The guards ran away, and so did the prisoners. My husband ran to Juodupe. He hurried, having no premonition of what was happening here.

Who knows what they would have done to him in Rokishkis, if not for the airplanes...

Mariya Belova speaks:

I have worked at the "Nyamunas" Factory since 1936. Near Smetona we received 70 Lithuanians. Life was unimportant. When the Red Army came, I immediately joined the Komsomol. At that time, Jonas Lapashinskas, Kasis Staynis, and Klavdiya Osipovayte were Komsomol members. Skruodis was the secretary.

They reported on the war from Rokishkis. Staynis came to me and said that it was necessary to leave for 3 days. At night from 24 to 25 June we sat in the volost, did not sleep and did not know what would happen tomorrow. The windows were shut. Talyus locked us in with a key and ordered not us to go anywhere. We heard no shots. The night was quiet. They let us out in the morning. In the yard, we met the militia chief, Kastanauskas (now deceased) and Akseñiy Potapov.

Everyone was released, not just Komsomol members. There were about 15 Komsomol and party members. We left on bicycles. I was shot at through the bicycle.

Pyatras Martsiyenas:

In 1958 I went to Juodupe. I visited the cemetery...

Later, I happened to speak with Styaponas Talyus. I asked him about the 1941 tragedy. He said that he did not participate in the murders, but knows that it happened. Many people were taken in June. They had been kulaks. When the war began, the question of what to do with them was raised. An instruction was received from the Uyezd: some should be released, and the others dealt with in the old quarries. They rounded up people, some from Rokishkis. They began tying up the prisoners, to prepare to send them to Paduobis. The prisoners began resisting and shouting, and they began to deal with them then.

I asked Talyus why the prisoners had been brutally tortured. He replied that he had not been there at the time, but, most likely, the people who were killed had been disfigured after they were already dead.

I sensed that this conversation was unpleasant for Talyus.

Instead of Imprisonment

From different testimonies:

They tortured with Talyus' knowledge. He was the main chief.

In 1940, when the Soviets came, Styaponas Talyus was volost chairman, and then he was party organization chairman.

They would have been unable to torture without Talyus' knowledge.

Talyus knew what awaited the condemned.

After the war, we went to school. There was a meeting with the activists. S. Talyus became dismayed when he saw me.

Talyus managed to die in time.

When Talyus died, the people whom they invited to the funeral said: "They even ask us to bury this bandit!"

From the Rokishskiy newspaper SPALE VELYAVA (No 63, 1988):

In 1940, Styaponas Talyus' dream was fulfilled. Soviet power was restored in Lithuania. He was instructed to head the Juodupe volost. He was a hardened revolutionary, a sincere, modest, and sensitive comrade, who devoted all his efforts to strengthening Soviet power in Lithuania... Styaponas Talyus remains alive in the memory of his dear ones and friends, he remains alive in this land, which he colored with his blood, and in the dreams and work of youth."

Accounts from witnesses collected by Terese Tashkunene, Algimantas Yankus, Virginiya Babilyute, Romas Venskunas, Cheslovas Stonis, Algis Yuknyavichyus, and Yurgis Yurgalis.

The honorarium for this article is intended for erecting a monument at the cemetery in Juodupe.

LaSSR Premier Bresis Plenum Report on Measures Required to Implement Language Law 18001027 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 5 May 89 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "Approaching the Law on Languages on the Basis of Cooperation and Consolidation: Speech by V. G. Bresis"]

[Text] The 4 May plenum of the Latvian CP Central Committee considered the questions "Ways to Achieve a Radical Improvement in the Study of the Latvian Language by the Republic's Population" and "The Draft of the LaSSSR Law Entitled 'Languages.'"

A report on the first question was given by V. G. Bresis, chairman of Latvian SSR Council of Ministers.

The session of the republic's Supreme Soviet has received for discussion, the speaker said, the drafts of the Latvian SSR Law on Languages, the decrees of Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet concerning the procedure for activating the Latvian SSR Law on Languages, and the decrees of Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet concerning the measures being carried out to guarantee the functioning of the Latvian language in state, social, and cultural life and in other spheres. In addition, the draft of the Law to Amend the Latvian SSR Constitution has been submitted for the deputies' attention.

National discussion of the draft version of the Latvian SSR Law on Languages that was published early in February demonstrated the population's tremendous self-interestedness in this question and made it possible

to ascertain the most reliable approaches to the functioning of languages in the republic. The new edition of the draft version of the Law on Languages takes into consideration the recommendations that were received.

The linguistic problem did not arise all at once or only in our republic. But now, as never before, we must take into consideration the national self-awareness and the fact that, as we assume the right to conduct a national-language policy, the republic, with the adoption of the state language, also assumes an increased responsibility for the functioning of the other languages on its territory.

As you know, in October 1988 the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted the decree entitled "The Status of the Latvian Language." It requires the republic's government to create the necessary conditions for the radical improvement of the instruction of the Latvian language in all the republic's educational institutions and the active functioning of that language in all spheres of state and social life.

The republic's Council of Ministers, in turn, developed and began fulfilling measures for the radical improvement of the study of the Latvian language by the republic's population. The decree of the Council of Ministers on this question was published in the press.

Then the speaker discussed the three-year program for guaranteeing the functioning of the Latvian language in state, social, cultural, and other spheres.

First of all it is necessary to create conditions for teaching the Latvian or Russian language to specialists and workers in those branches whose activity is linked with the providing of services to the public. These include employees at state institutions, in the trade spheres, the personal services, the municipal economy, public transportation, communication, education, public health, social security, culture, justice, and the protection of public order.

The second group of persons studying Latvian must include those workers at industrial and construction enterprises and other organizations who require a knowledge of Latvian in the volume sufficient to communicate with other persons in the everyday situation.

The third group of the republic's population, and a group whose interests will have to be taken into special consideration, is the children. It is planned to have a harmonious system of second-language (Latvian or Russian) instruction in children's preschool institutions, general educational schools, and all other types of educational institutions, including higher educational institutions.

First of all it is necessary to define the quantitative parameters for the process. The first group: in the public-health system there are approximately 16,000 such persons; in trade and public nutrition, 11,000; in the communal-economy and personal-services spheres,

approximately 20,000. Approximately 50,000 persons are workers in the agencies of state administration, administrators at various levels, and specialists at production enterprises. Total—approximately 100,000 persons. Of course that is a large figure.

In order to provide instruction for this contingent, a broad network of courses has already been created at ministries, state committees, departments, and ispolkoms, and also at enterprises, institutions, and organizations. For administrative workers at the republic's agencies of administration, the courses are organized by the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers' Administration of Affairs and the interbranch institute for refresher training of administrative workers and specialists; the instruction of workers in the apparatus of the local soviets' ispolkoms is organized by the ispolkoms themselves; and the instruction of workers in the services sphere is provided by the appropriate branch ministries, state committees, and departments.

The enterprises, institutions, and organizations organize Latvian-language courses independently or with the aid of the educational institutions, Minbyt [Ministry of Personal Services], and cooperatives. The persons working as course instructors are basically Latvian-language teachers, retired teachers, and students. We have a sufficient number of persons who are capable of teaching Latvian to adults.

Minobrazovaniye [Ministry of Education] has been given the responsibility of determining by 1 July 1989 the contingent of teachers and instructors who agree to teach Latvian to the adult population.

Keeping in mind the fact that at the present time more than 50,000 persons are attending special courses in Latvian, I think that there is an opportunity to provide instruction for the other persons also. What is needed first of all is good will.

Actually this has been demonstrated, for example, by the Ministry of Trade. Early this year the trade system had more than 6500 workers who were involved in the providing of services to the public, but who were not fluent in Latvian. A broad network of courses to study the language has already been created, and more than 3000 persons are attending them. Work on preparing a lexical dictionary for the needs of trade has already begun on contract principles with the state university.

This kind of work has also been broadly extended by the Ministry of Personal Services, the Ministry of Municipal Economy, and the Ministry of Public Health, the State Fuel and Energy Committee, and other organizations.

To assist those who are organizing courses in Latvian, Ministry of Education has developed curricula and a methodology. Several groups of authors are working on the creation of alternative curricula and teaching aids for students with a different level of language knowledge.

The public's demand for publications that promote the mastery of Latvian has increased sharply. We used to publish conversational phrase books and self-instruction guides on language in a printing run of 35,000-50,000 every three of four years, and that completely satisfied the needs. Approximately one-half the total printing run of these publications have been used up during the past two years, but this by no means corresponds to today's needs. In March 1989 Part I of a new self-instruction guide for learning Latvian—"Let's Learn Latvian"—was published in a printing run of 100,000 copies. Part II will appear early next year in the same printing run. At the present time the authors are working on Part III, which will be published in 1991.

In 1989-1990 and in the 13th Five-Year Plan, the publishing houses have planned a number of new, original publications for studying Latvian, including self-instruction guides, conversational phrase books, dictionaries, and phonograph records.

I hope that the people who want to learn Latvian by the self-instruction method will be helped by their coworkers, the labor collectives, and the party, trade-union, Komsomol, and other social organizations.

The editorial office of the Latvian Television System's department of popular-science broadcasts has also been brought into the rendering of assistance to this group of persons. A new series of broadcasts, "Let's Learn Together," with the use of modern intensive methods of language instruction, began on 10 April. Specialists from Latvian State University take part in developing the methodology for these broadcasts.

The Latvijas Kino Association, jointly with Latvian Television, has prepared a video cassette with the first three lessons in Latvian for beginners. Subsequently the complete course of instruction will be recorded on video cassettes.

A large amount of assistance for persons beginning to learn Latvian could be rendered by the newspapers and magazines that are printed in the republic in Russian, by including in those publications a column "For Those Who Are Studying Latvian," publishing the content of the television broadcasts in the series, or creating their own items.

Active participation in the social life of the people who have an insufficient knowledge of a particular language must be provided with the aid of simultaneous interpretation. Radio and television already provide simultaneous interpretation of the most important social and political broadcasts, which is transmitted on radio's Program II. Subsequently this service will also be provided for the most important informational broadcasts.

Within the next two or three years it will be necessary to provide simultaneous interpretation in the auditoriums where sessions are being held. One frequently hears

excuses that there is a serious shortage of the necessary apparatus. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Communications, jointly with the VEF [State Electrical-Engineering Plant] PO [Production Association], can satisfy right now the demand for portable apparatus, and by 1991 the need for permanently installed equipment for simultaneous interpretation.

At the present time we do not have a sufficient number of highly qualified interpreters. According to computations that have been made, the republic needs approximately 200 specialists in simultaneous interpretation. When the new school year begins, in accordance with requests made by institutions and organizations, Latvian State University will begin to train interpreters from among the students.

It is well known that it is easiest to assimilate a language when one is a child. Fulfilling the decree of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, entitled "The Status of the Latvian Language," a governmental decision has approved the measures to create the prerequisites for studying and assimilating the Latvian language in children's preschool institutions, general educational schools, vocational-technical schools, and secondary special and higher educational institutions.

However, the study of Latvian in schools with Russian as the language of instruction cannot be improved simply by intensifying the instructional process. In order to assimilate the Latvian language seriously and learn the republic's history, geography, and culture, there is another method. For all the general educational schools in the republic, an identical period of instruction should be established.

The republic's government is carrying out a number of important measures to encourage the creation of new textbooks. This year the schools will receive ten additional textbooks of the Latvian language and literature, including "Latvian Language" for grades 4 and 10 in schools with Russian as the language of instruction. The reference book "Latvian Language" has been published for schools with Russian as the language of instruction and two additional reference books on Latvian will be published: they will help the student to prepare better for the graduation examinations.

In order to guarantee the mastery of the state language by the future specialists, in February 1989 Latvian State University created a new department—the Practical Latvian Department.

Starting with the new school year, Latvian will be studied in all the higher and secondary special educational institutions.

One of the most important tasks for creating the real opportunities for mastery of Latvian is the providing of pedagogical cadres. Starting with the new 1989-1990 school year, the admission of students in the specialty

"Latvian Language and Literature" in our pedagogical institutions of higher learning will be increased by 75 persons, and the total number of persons admitted in this specialty will be 375. Training of Latvian-language teachers has been reintroduced at Daugavpils Pedagogical Institution. I want to emphasize that the overall plan for admission of students into the Russian stream entering the republic's higher educational institutions will not be reduced.

Then the speaker discussed the problems of changing over official correspondence to the state language.

But first we must discuss what we understand by the words "official correspondence," he said. The depiction, in documents, of the activities of the administrative apparatus—that is the most important thing. Consequently, the first-priority task in this area is guaranteeing the use of the Latin language in spheres of state and social activity when preparing organizational, directive, and accounting documentation.

In order to change over to the use of the state language in official correspondence, the government, after the adoption of the Law on Languages, will create a special governmental commission. The commission will define the procedure for using the state language in preparing documents for administrative activity, as well as the use of language in departmental, interdepartmental, technical, and construction-planning documentation.

Simultaneously it is necessary to be concerned about the training, refresher training, and retraining of cadres of file clerks and typists in the educational institutions and vocational-technical schools, concluding the appropriate contracts with them.

Another serious question is the question of providing the enterprises, institutions, and organizations with typewriters. The main supplier of typewriters for the republic—the Latvian Interrepublic Base of the Torgovoye Oborudovaniye All-Union Association—has been fulfilling this assignment unsatisfactorily. Today's need for typewriters with the Latvian alphabet is being satisfied by only approximately 26 percent.

In this situation one should approve the actions of the republic's Ministry of Trade, which concluded a contract with the Liter cooperative in Moscow, which pledged, prior to July of this year, to guarantee the delivery to the republic in accordance with the contract 1000 typewriters with the Latin alphabet and, during the course of the year, 3500 more with the Latvian alphabet. This will basically cover the quantity that has been requested this year.

I think that the enterprises and organizations should be allocated, in a purposeful manner, their own currency in order to purchase the technology needed to use the Latvian language in official correspondence.

There is no doubt that, in order to implement the Law on Languages, considerable additional appropriations will be needed. For organizations supported by the budget, these appropriations are stipulated by the state budget. But enterprises and organizations operating under cost-accountability conditions will cover these expenses by drawing against their own income. Our approximate computations indicate that the financing of the measures planned for the three-year period by the republic's state program will require additionally approximately 50 million rubles, of which 23 million rubles will come from the budget. These funds exist in the republic budget and in the local budgets, and they will be taken into consideration when forming the budget for the appropriate year.

But the true status of the Latvian language in our republic will be determined not only by the requirements that have been expressed in the law, and not even by the conditions that will be created for people who are not fluent in that language. It is necessary for every citizen to be completely aware that the restoration of the rights of the Latvian language and the reinforcement of that language are a necessity that has been caused by perestroika. I want to call upon all the inhabitants to be completely correct toward one another on the path to real bilingualism. It will be necessary to proceed along that path while relying upon the esthetic principles of a highly cultured society, rather than upon coercion. Only then can we hope for the normal development of interethnic relations in our republic. Unfortunately, this does not always turn out this way.

Who, one might ask, needed in certain places to paint out the names of populated places in the Russian language, leaving only the Latvian spellings? In some places, deputies who speaking only Russian were rebuked for having come without interpreters. And the simple suggestion was given to a few people that they look for a more suitable part of the country in which to live.

The government will move steadily to continue the work of giving the Latvian language the status of a state language and guaranteeing the republic's population their right to assimilate and use their native language. Every individual has only one native language. That must be the basic concept in guaranteeing real bilingualism.

By adopting the Law on Languages and fulfilling the measures to assure the radical improvement of the study of the Latvian language by the republic's population, we must be aware with the complete measure of responsibility that, at such time, no nation is opposed to another one, no nation is pursuing the goal of obtaining national privileges to the detriment of the citizens of another nationality. Only real bilingualism will become the guarantee of the normalization of national-language relations.

Then A. V. Gorbunov, chairman of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, took the floor.

**Pre-Election Interview with Supsov Presidium
Chairman Gorbunov**

*18000792 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
25 Mar 89 pp 1, 2*

[Interview with A. Gorbunov, chairman, LaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium by V. Smetannikov, correspondent: "The Basis of Democracy is the Civic Position of Each True Participant in Restructuring"]

[Text] A. Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, candidate USSR people's deputy for the 713th Tsesisskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug, answers a SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA correspondent's questions.

[Smetannikov] Right now, we all live in a changing world. Some have met the process of restructuring with enthusiasm. Others (there are fewer of them, but they do exist and this must be reckoned with) are trying to preserve, albeit partially, the old positions and old methods of work, and even caution: it is still unknown, they say, what democratization, glasnost, and the new forms of economic management will bring... A third group has preferred to take the "wait and see" position.

Of course, one wants to see the specific results of restructuring as soon as possible. However, even at the end of 1923, V.I. Lenin, confined to bed by illness, dictated this phrase in particular to his secretaries: "However, we should clearly see for ourselves... that it is impossible to change people's mentality, the habits of an ages-old life, so suddenly." In our critical time, called fateful with full grounds, it seems that Lenin's words have not lost even an iota of their significance. The decades which preceded restructuring carry many bad marks. These marks, of course, have not canceled out the advantages of a socialist system, but they have left traces in the people's mentality that are difficult to blot out. Hence, the disbelief in the fact that the laws are in a condition to protect the interests of the population, the unnatural transformation of the concept of "owner," and the certainty of many that they are only "cogs" in a gigantic state mechanism. Evidently, a candidate USSR people's deputy must take all of this into consideration...

[Gorbunov] At turning points, it has always been characteristic of people to look closely at the past. This is particularly characteristic of them now, when it is necessary to draw clear conclusions from the past which will prevent the repetition of mistakes. Moreover, it is necessary to remove soil, in which weeds grow especially lushly. However, everything in the same history that is good, instructive, and able to well serve both us, and the growing generations, should not go unnoticed.

If I am elected, I will approach the fulfillment of my deputy responsibilities taking the interests of broad strata of society into account. Not only to protect these interests, but also to implement them in legislation. In order to do this, one must (it is simply necessary) protect the law itself, and control its implementation.

The individual will be in the center of my attention. Not an abstract personality, and not reduced to the level of a faceless "mass," but precisely the real individual, with his work, concerns, joys and problems. I stand for reforms which are capable of awakening every person's belief in himself, in his work, in his children's future, and of making him a proud and genuinely free citizen of our Homeland.

The first condition, which any reform—economic, political, or legal—should ensure is freedom of choice. There is such a freedom: an individual thinks, recognizes himself as a creative personality, makes decisions himself, without prompting, and also implements and answers for them himself.

Yet, if this is so, then at the highest level it is senseless to live, as in the not too distant past, according to the principle: I am only a "cog." It is just as incorrect to count on changing something for the better, without the participation of every specific individual. But even if this happens, this is still not restructuring. Everyone should feel it and recognize it in himself.

[Smetannikov] You said: "citizen of our Homeland." However, I hope you will agree, this lofty title has been devalued in our daily life and has migrated into official documents. Yes, it does have certain significance, including that given it by the state. However, it has been forgotten and has almost disappeared from the conversational lexicon in the sense that the citizen is a conscious member of society, a person who subordinates personal to public interests. It was no accident that during the Great French Revolution, the 200th anniversary of which will soon be observed, the title "citizen" was used there, just as "comrade" was used here after Great October. They both imply the observance of common human principles, such as honor and decency...

[Gorbunov] Both in work, and in daily life, I respect precisely these principles most of all in people.

[Smetannikov] However, a person's honor and decency to a large extent depend on the situation in which he exists. While subordinating personal interests to common ones, a citizen should, in my opinion, constantly feel that society in turn takes his aspirations and hopes into account too, and gives not illusory, but distinct prospects for a good future. The genuine civic position of each of us is one of the most important aspects of restructuring. However, it can be confirmed in oneself and demanded of others only under conditions of true democracy. How is this reflected in your pre-election program?

[Gorbunov] The inner emancipation of man—and democratization presumes this process, above all—will not occur on some sort of instruction, any more than by waving a magic wand. We ourselves should learn bit by bit to get the slave out of ourselves, to overcome the constraint instilled practically since kindergarten. We must learn to speak the truth and we must learn to hear it. We must learn to overcome the psychological alienation from concern both for the entire country, as well as for our own republic. Then, the original meaning of the lofty title of citizen will return.

I see two paths here: both to struggle tirelessly against that which seems unacceptable, and to focus all efforts on that which is constructive and unites all of us as citizens.

Indeed, I consider the democratization of economic and political life to be the strategic direction of restructuring. I will strive so that leaders are promoted, and talented people chosen, who have a clear civic position. I support the kind of democracy that would be based on broad public opinion and would make it possible to make optimal decisions, and these can only be crystallized through the comparison of different viewpoints.

However, let us guard ourselves against the kind of democracy, the purpose of which lies not in radical changes, but in a demagogic change of masks, against the kind of democracy which strives for radical changes, but plans to accomplish them using politically unacceptable means. This is my firm position.

The citizen and his constitutional rights and responsibilities is the center of a legitimate state. In such a state, the rights and freedoms of the individual should be guaranteed. However, at the same time, it the form of responsibility for the illegal use of rights and for failure to fulfill responsibilities must be clearly defined.

Law in a legal state should possess the highest legal force. In asserting national self-management, we will not ensure public interests, unless we are guided by territorial requirements and possibilities, by the demands of the people who live and work on this land.

[Smetannikov] As was already reported in the press, a Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet work group has been formed to prepare the drafts of new versions of our republic's Constitution and the Law on Elections. What was set as grounds for creating these extraordinarily important political documents?

[Gorbunov] It is too early to speak of the details, the more so since these drafts have not yet been discussed by the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, but I am the leader of the collegium body. To be brief, the new republic Supreme Soviet must discuss and pass the new version of the Constitution. Right now, it is planned only to make changes in the presently existing text concerning the elections.

The overall requirements for the new version of the republic's Basic Law can be formulated as follows: its contents must ensure and reflect the economic, political, and legal reforms. Legislators have a difficult job. Life goes on, situations change, and the laws must also change. When it is a question of the reforms, they, you will agree, can in no way be fitted into the current Constitution. Although, it is impossible to do all of this just right—immediately!

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev directly stated that a new Constitution for the country is also on the agenda, within the framework of the legal reform. The fact that the republics are taking steps in this direction first is, in my deep certainty, correct, even if purely theoretically. Basically, the process of democratization should go from below to above. Some might say: what if fundamental errors are made in the republic constitutions? I think that it is easier for the country's higher body of state power to correct them, if they will exist, than to first pass a Union Constitution and then, taking the diversity of individual republics into account, introduce and introduce changes in the country's Basic Law. I repeat again: it is my deep certainty that this process should occur from below to above.

[Smetannikov] There are the following words in your pre-election position: "For too long, we have been accustomed to being the owners of everything, but of nothing specifically. Therefore, the final say in all matters of life, labor and home should belong to the soviets." At the 27th CPSU Congress, the idea of the owner's responsibility of local soviets was voiced not as a confirmation, but as a task. The fact that the soviets do not have enough of a business-like nature or initiative, and have become alienated in many ways from the solution of social problems, was acknowledged. Indeed, how can it be otherwise, if the ispolkom, i.e., the executive body of power, turned out to be... above the same power. Party documents directly state the need to return to the soviets their essence as the voice of the people's will and to return their former prestige and significance. In the press and, right now, during the pre-election campaign, in labor collectives, at voters' meetings, and in the candidates' speeches, the most diverse proposals on this subject are being discussed and the search is going in several directions at once. What do you see as the specific path for reviving the revolutionary slogan "All Power to the Soviets!"?

[Gorbunov] It is possible to give them full power and, by the same token, incidentally, to ensure harmony in interethnic relations, only if the Union republics and local soviets have new, specific rights: they must have at their disposal, transferred to their auspices, the socialist property of the people and natural resources. In short, the soviets should become the full masters of their own territory. If we want to implement the principle "to each according to his labor," taking into account that the republic will then have all resources fully at its disposal,

then precisely regional cost-accounting should, in this case, become the main prerequisite for putting the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" into practice.

How do I interpret the independence and sovereignty of the republic? Briefly characterizing today's system of economic management, it can be said that, on the whole, it is all still the economic management system of the all-Union departments. We should replace this model with territorial economic management. What does this imply?

The republic's authority must be expanded, and the spheres and functions of economic management must be clearly divided. Latvia's budget should be formed on the basis of the self-financing principle, and should be created entirely independently, guided strictly by incomes. After approval by the LaSSR Supreme Soviet, the budget should be directed for inclusion in the Union budget. In turn, the budget of local soviets is made up of receipts from the incomes of the enterprises, farms and organizations of the corresponding territories.

On Sunday, 26 March, we all—from workers to heads of state—simply become voters. I personally will vote for the kind of republic sovereignty which in no ways weakens the Union center. In the future, we will be interested in having a center which is creative, wise, and strong, so that it does not suppress initiative and responsibility in local areas, but on the contrary—supports and conducts reforms on state scales, flexibly considering the specific features of individual regions.

[Smetannikov] Since concern for the individual, for his hopes and concerns, is the theme of your pre-election position, let us dwell on several particularly characteristic demands of the population. The first: improving the republic's food supply.

[Gorbunov] The administrative-command style of leadership has brought agriculture to a calamitous situation. Yet, the supply of food products is a main vital necessity. This problem sorely touches the interests of urban residents. Only radical changes in production and economic relations can improve the situation in the countryside. These changes can only be achieved with the help of diverse forms of economic management. Leases, contracts, peasant farms, and cooperatives should be approved, in addition to kolkhozes.

[Smetannikov] The second: the process of the unsupported mechanical increase in the republic's population, which disturbs many. Although the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers has passed an appropriate resolution, this problem, as before, is still the center of numerous discussions.

[Gorbunov] I relate the problem of mechanical increase not only to the question of the survival of the Latvian nation. The permanent residents of Latvia, regardless of

their nationality, are stating their legal rights to apartments, everyday services, food products and consumer goods. It is impossible to support the necessary standard of living for the population, with an uncontrolled, constant mechanical increase in it.

Do not take this for loud words, but an extraordinary situation has been created. Therefore, extraordinary measures (some, possibly, temporary) are needed as well. Economic levers and the application of achievements of scientific and technical progress in technology and labor organization are called upon to play their role here, but it is also impossible to get by without measures of an administrative and legal nature. When economic methods of leadership are strengthened, the need for the latter, it seems, will disappear.

[Smetannikov] The third: the state of interethnic relations.

[Gorbunov] Right now, they really are painfully aggravated in the republic. Our task is not to irritate this pain, not, to put it graphically, to rub salt into open wounds, but, without haste, everyone should together to meet halfway in peace and agreement. Each step should be thought through here: fairly often, really, only a single step separates the light of understanding from the darkness of hatred.

Noble goals, a caring attitude toward another's national self-existence and respect for his language, culture and traditions, have united and do unite peoples. Socialist internationalism is only displayed in humanism. However, humanism is not just an attitude, it is also action: selfless aid to the weaker and smaller, help for a language which finds itself threatened with extinction, and help for the hurt individual. Only by treating each other carefully, tolerantly, and with respect, by holding an honest and open dialogue, can we understand the entire depth of the Latvian nation's genuine, natural interests. There is, I hope, no person who has not realized that Latvia is the only place in the world where its people can exist and develop. In turn, the Latvian people should show their own interest in the free development of the self-awareness, language and culture of representatives of other nationalities, who have voluntarily connected their lives to the future of our land.

[Smetannikov] So, we have looked at history anew, having opened up the essence of many of its "blank" spots for ourselves, and have revealed many problems that remain to be solved, in order to eliminate the negative consequences of the past. A clear course toward healing society has been planned. These days, one also reads anew Yan Sudrabkalns's poems, written almost 70 years ago:

"And the bright throng of nameless sufferers, Itself adorns the new Parthenon, Though with the memory of ancient storms, The sound of free song soars upward, And man, sighting out from beneath his palm, Sees the rainbow on the horizon."

People have always considered the rainbow a good sign—a symbol of cleansing, happiness and well-being...

[Gorbunov] Poetic comparison is a fine thing. However, we walk in a sinful land and there is no rolled asphalt highway in front of us. We will look the truth in the eyes. Fairly difficult times lie ahead. Restructuring, like any revolutionary process, will not come easily. We will surmount this transition period together. The fact that regional cost-accounting, and everything else related to it, should be introduced is inevitable. There are no alternatives. For we are nearing serious crisis in the financial area.

Little has been said before about economics from the viewpoint of finances. I understand that they generally operated only by percentages: increasingly more, and more, and more... But today one hears from all sides: prices are rising, how can they be stopped? The situation is far from optimistic. What do I see as the answer?

We cannot cope without legal regulation. Some may think it possible to convert to a self-regulating mechanism, where everything is determined on its own through economic methods. No, things do not turn out that way. Legal regulation is needed, although in many ways it also relates to some administrative-command methods. These also hold the danger that they might spark a relapse of bureaucratism.

I see a second way—the real development of cost-accounting principles, equivalent commodity exchange, plus competition. Without healthy competition, the monopoly of the producers (our domestic “monopolies” often operate more strongly, than foreign ones) will not be eliminated, and then prices will really rise even higher. This in no way benefits the individual, especially a person who has low earnings or a small pension. Concern for the well-being of each worker is also one of the tasks of a people's deputy.

[Smetannikov] The elections of USSR people's deputies at all stages of the campaign have revealed many sometimes complex questions. Even during discussion of the draft changes and amendments to the USSR Constitution and the Law on Elections, many critical remarks have been expressed. Some of these were considered in definitive texts. However, some errors permitted by legislators have made themselves known in practice. What, in your opinion, are those costs of the current election campaign, which the future membership of the USSR Supreme Soviet—a fundamentally new body of state power—should take into consideration?

[Gorbunov] It is probably still too early to analyze the course of the elections of the country's people's deputies: let us wait for the results, which will become known after 26 March. Moreover, the current election campaign (such as has never been in our history before) unquestionably requires most careful study, in order to draw not “paper,” but the most instructive, real lessons from it.

However, I can build on a few thoughts.

It seems to me, the nomination of candidates was not fully thought out. There should be a more efficient mechanism here. How is it working out? One collective can nominate ten candidates: no definite, logical “ceiling” has been set anywhere. Still, it is nonetheless necessary to hold a census: how many votes a candidate must collect in his support, in order to be nominated and registered. Now, there was a “race” for the okrug pre-election meetings. And it turned out that the more collectives nominated one or another candidate, the greater the chances he would remain on the list. However, apparently, this ought to be done during the nomination. Furthermore, the present procedure for okrug meetings forces one to question, whether they are necessary in general? After all, on 26 March in our republic there will be elections with no choice in seven okrugs: places where there is only one candidate. Surely, these are worthy of people's trust, and I cannot doubt their qualities. However, the voters' rights are damaged as a result, and people are expressing claims.

Often, our lack of preparedness in using democratic, purely political methods in the pre-election campaign is telling.

It is felt that emotions are getting the upper hand in some places. In particular, this concerns the programs of certain candidates.

There are some extremely radical programs. They do not alarm me. Most of our voters, who look into political affairs and the situation in the republic, I think, will properly evaluate these programs and make the right choice.

The programs of candidates who, to put it simplistically, are obviously “working” the audience, are far more disturbing. In counting on the listeners' emotions, they appear before the voters with the promises and slogans which can elicit applause, but in fact they have no real ground underneath themselves. However, next a person with a sober program stands up and proposes that which he really will achieve, but his words fade against the background of emotions.

Unsubstantiated programs will only bring harm as a consequence. Both moral and political harm. People, having seen later that the promises were hung in empty air, will censure such a candidate, if they elect him, regard him as a deceiver, and consider themselves tricked. Yet, by the same token, they will also question the viability and power of the USSR people's deputy.

The pre-election posters, which tell about the candidates, are made, as a rule, with the long-familiar appeal: "Comrades! Vote for..." The name of the aspirant to the mandate follows.

As a candidate deputy, I now receive extensive mail. It is diverse. In some letters, people write: "I will not vote for you!" You know, such frankness makes me happy. It forces me to think about a great deal. It means that perhaps I am not doing something right in my job. That I have been unable to convince my fellow citizens of something. That my pre-election position is insufficiently substantiated, or I have not managed to convince everyone of my good intentions.

Indeed, I repeat, the real individual with his work, concerns, joys and problems, is the center of my attention. It would be better for me not to be elected deputy, than, being elected, for me to be unable to justify the hopes, which the people who leave my name on the voting ballot are entrusting to me.

[Smetannikov] Thank you for the interview.

Gosstroy Official on Student Squatters in New Riga Apartment Block

18000696 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
11 Mar 89 p 2

[Interview with Mikhail Andreyevich Kopach, chief of the Latvian SSR Gosstroy Cadre Administration, by correspondent Yu. Chernyavskiy : "Striking is No Method For Resolving Conflicts. Events Surrounding the Building on Tereshkovas, 25, Riga, Teach This"]

[Text] The production process at the Riga DSK-1 [House-Building Combine-1] and DSK-2 followed the normal rhythm. After the tempestuous events of the past 3 weeks, it seems, people are finding respite in daily, customary concerns. Only from a distance can it be stated that meeting and striking is a simple undertaking. For a real working person, not a gossip or intriguer, shutting down the plant, even if just for a day, and seeing how the mechanisms become paralyzed with inaction, as though with reproach, and counting the slow minutes of the long, purposeless shift, believe me, is very difficult. Weighty grounds are necessary in order to take such a step. Even a victory and the assurances that the workers' demands will be met does not remove the bitter aftertaste in one's heart. The house builders, and indeed not only them, cannot help but be tormented by the question: why must justice and legality be achieved through such extreme measures?

What were the lessons of the events at DSK-1 and DSK-2? I tried to investigate this in a conversation with M. Kopach, cadre administration chief of the republic Gosstroy.

[Chernyavskiy] Mikhail Andreyevich, a solution to the conflict situation was found, albeit slowly. Even the interference of the Latvian CP Central Committee Buro was needed for this. But, personally, between whom and whom was the conflict? Those who organized the "seizure" and entered the building on Tereshkovas without authorization conflicted with the law. This is obvious to everyone. Yet, with whom did the workers conflict?

[Kopach] Obviously, with those who did not fulfill their demands.

[Chernyavskiy] As far as I understand, the house builders addressed their demands primarily to the Riga Gorispolkom and the republic Gosstroy...

[Kopach] Yes, at first the workers accused us of poorly defending their interests. However, when we, documents in hand, explained the whats and hows to the strike committee, the accusations toward Gosstroy, it seems to me, were removed.

You can judge for yourself. We have been building "small family" apartments for a long time. We built 32 such apartment blocks in Riga alone. The system of "small family" dormitories—I will discuss their particulars later—has made it possible to attract skilled cadres into construction. The claim that we only "sway" new residents into Riga by way of the "small family" apartments is also untrue. On the contrary, in many ways thanks to the "small family" apartments which were built, as well as to other measures defined in their time by resolution of the Latvian CP Central Committee and republic Council of Ministers, have succeeded in reducing cadre turnover by a factor of 3, decreasing it to a relatively low figure, 8 percent, in not quite a decade.

The "small family" apartments cannot be ranked with ordinary dormitories, which really have become obsolete already. Here, we are working, rather, with departmental buildings. The "small family" apartments, on the one hand, enable a young person, with or without a family, to receive improved housing for a long period of time—the builders do not receive apartments as rapidly as some people think. Today, they must work for an average of 15 years for this. On the one hand, the "small family" apartments offer a possibility and, to be frank, "bind" the worker to this organization. If he breaks the labor contract with us, we can evict him without red tape. People know this. There is a third side to the problem as well. After receiving a "small family" apartment for three, with 20 square meters, a person still has the right to wait in line for a 2- or 3-room apartment. This is why the house builders have grounds to "fight," not just for the apartments which are taken for them, but also so that they will receive "small family" status.

Be this as it may, the procedure for awarding this status to the house builders has been worked out over a decade. Guided by the corresponding resolutions of the republic

Council of Ministers and the Riga Gorispolkom, last summer we agreed that the building on Tereshkovas, 25, and Saulgozhu, 27, which were the sparks that set the forest on fire today, would be made for "small family" apartments. The future residents were then determined—they have to do construction work on vacations and weekends. The contract, so to speak, is more valuable than money. However, when it came time to move in by the end of the year, the housing administration and A. Meykalish, the new gorispolkom deputy chairman, suddenly went back on their word and began refusing to acknowledge the building as "small family," and put off solving the problem from day to day...

[Chernyavskiy] The resolution against migration would have just been passed...

[Kopach] Yes, it crossed a number of workers off the list of new settlers. At the same time, some of the mass information media had begun kindling an unhealthy stir surrounding our buildings. Well, everything ended with the "seizure."

[Chernyavskiy] Was it not partly the ispolkom's position that cautioned the passivity of law enforcement agencies both during the "seizure" and afterwards?

[Kopach] I do not know, but the matter became entirely absurd. Gosstroy was instructed to work to evict the uninvited new settlers... That is, we ought to have taken them to court. Our workers went to Tereshkovas, 25, supposedly in order to make a list of the names of those who had illegally occupied apartments. So these—the tongue does not permit me to say—students on the threshold did not let our people through. So, was it necessary to fight?

[Chernyavskiy] How was the problem solved?

[Kopach] The house builders left the building on Tereshkovas, 25, for the gorispolkom. In exchange, they received 135 apartments in several buildings now occupied. Seven workers are moving in there on housing rental contracts according to the basic line. Thus, a sufficient number of "small family" apartments was freed for those who ought to live at Tereshkovas, 25, and Saulgozhu, 27. True, even here we did not get by without a "fly in the ointment." As it turned out, authorizations had already been issued for 40 of the 135 above-mentioned apartments. Now these are being taken away from people, since the "apartments are going to the builders." For whom it was again demanded, so to speak, that we butt heads with the rest of the people of Riga?

It is also necessary to investigate four more buildings, now being constructed as "small family" apartments. It seems, they must be left as such, but they must allow us to settle residents of Riga there, who have indicated a

desire to work for us and need improved living conditions. This would make it possible to somewhat improve the cadre situation and involve more local residents in construction.

The work force situation is very complex today. Indeed, we ought to improve the organization of labor and accelerate mechanization—in this regard, the criticism directed at Gosstroy is entirely justified. However, neither these measures, nor the attraction of MZhK detachments will be able for the time being to compensate the cadre losses which we began suffering in the last half of last year and are suffering now, due to which the construction program has also begun to "collapse" in many ways, and we are unable to master the capacities of the house building combines...

[Chernyavskiy] Nonetheless, let me interrupt you and elaborate on one thing. If I understood correctly, the house builders received, instead of 135 one-room apartments, two- and three-room apartments, i.e., they profited significantly in terms of metric area?

[Kopach] Yes, this is true. However, we did not rob the people of Riga, as some may think. The builders received only that part which the Riga Gorispolkom owed us for the current 5-year period. After all, as you know, by law a certain percentage of apartments in each commissioned building go to the builders.

[Chernyavskiy] How do you explain the fact that another 56 enterprises and organizations in Riga, not just including construction organizations, decided to support the strikers in the event of a failure to fulfill their demands?

[Kopach] I do not know the figures... However, it does not surprise me. After all, the house builders have struggled to restore legality, and this concerns each of us. As you yourself wrote in SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, in the opposite case we do not see a legal state, like our own ears. It is no accident that the resolution of the builders' meeting included a demand to name the real parties guilty of illegality. It would be naive to think that others do not support "student initiative."

The house builders also demand a review of points 9 and 14 of the resolution "On Measures to Halt the Unsubstantiated Mechanical Growth of the Population and The Regulation of Migration Processes in the Latvian SSR." On the fact that migration must be halted, probably, there cannot be two opinions. However, it is impossible to put people who have already arrived in the position of odd men out. Yet, the clauses of the above-mentioned resolution, to the effect that living in a dormitory is not considered acceptable grounds for consideration for provision with permanent housing, dooms them to precisely this. A person came to the republic 4-5 years ago and now suddenly finds out that he will soon be

thrown out on the street: dormitories are being eliminated, but no apartment "beckons." It is good if he has some place to turn to, but what if he does not? Is this really an acceptable way to treat people?!

The resolution of the meeting, which was held on the strike day, also includes an address to the press. Let me quote: "Our multi-ethnic collective requests that the mass information media not turn the conflict surrounding the building on Tereshkovas Street into a symbol of inter-ethnic discord. We are not associated with any of the "fronts," but events have forced us to demand not only the solution of our own professional problems, but also of problems which trouble all people of Riga, mainly the 75,000 families which need improved housing."

[Chernyavskiy] The builders set a time period: by 20 March the illegal squatters should be evicted from the building on Tereshkovas, 25, the instigators of the illegal action must be publicly named, and the ill-considered clauses of the Council of Ministers resolution must be reviewed. What will happen if these demands are not met? I heard that the strike committees in the enterprises have not been disbanded.

[Kopach] I am sure that those on whom the fulfillment of these demands depends will not bring the matter to extremes again. When work stops, nobody wins, and everybody loses.

[Chernyavskiy] I will sign this under your last phrase.

BSSR Academician on Overcoming 'National Nihilism'

18000686 Minsk *KOMMUNIST BELORUSSII* in Russian No 3, Mar 89 pp 73-76

[Article by A. Maldis, department chief, Institute of Literature imeni Ya. Kupal, Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences, doctor of zoological sciences: "Let Us Finally Start Talking..."]

[Text] Today it is obvious that national nihilism, of all the union republics, perhaps, has put out the deepest and most durable roots in our Belorussia. An eloquent proof of this is the mass rejection by Belorussians of their native language, manifested particularly in the stagnant period. The city (above all the middle strata, employees, and the technical intelligentsia) does not speak Belorussian today (but has not mastered Russian either—it switched to a "cross," not doing us an honor). The situation has reached the point that right now there is not a single Belorussian school in some oblasts (Vitebsk, for example) and in the overwhelming majority of city rayons. In rural Belorussian schools, there is a catastrophic shortage of teachers of non-philological subjects, able to conduct instruction in the native language.

Gradually (albeit very slowly) we are beginning to realize that national nihilism is the same sort of disease as nationalism. Both the oblivion of one's own, native, and

the extreme, irrepressible elevation of it and opposition of "someone else's," are identically dangerous for society and everyone. This is a deviation from the normal state. Like any anomaly, it is fraught with unpredictable consequences and uncontrollable processes.

For a long time, we thought that national nihilism was almost a blessing for Belorussia, that the lack of Belorussian patriotism gave rise to international feelings. However, patriotism and internationalism are dialectically interrelated and interdependent parts of a single and indivisible whole. The lack of the former leads not to internationalism, but to a worship of that which is alien, to cosmopolitanism. Appearing on television, the famous Russian artist I. Glazunov formulated this thought in the following graphically shocking comparison: Patriotism is a love for one's native mother. Therefore, if one kills his own mother, he will mandatorily let someone else's decay as well.

Nationally nihilism has inflicted and is inflicting great and irreplaceable losses, above all in the spiritual sphere, in our culture, and in education, on the Belorussian people. After all, as the Tajik saying makes clear, "He who is helpless in his own language is an ignoramus, even if he knows 20 other languages." In potentiality, entire strata of future national culture are being destroyed. Who knows how many geniuses we will not have because of this in the 21st century (they will appear, but will belong to another culture—like Mitskevich and Monyushko in their time). The real danger of "erosion," of the disintegration of the unstrengthened Belorussian ethnic group (present-day tendencies in the Brest and Grodno areas, where representatives of individual ethnic groups are demanding greater privileges for themselves, than for Belorussians, are proof of this) is growing. National nihilism damages our prestige in the union-wide and international arena. We ourselves consider this normal, but they see us as an anomaly. I recently read in the Polish journal *DYSKUSYA* (No 2, 1988) in an article by Ya. Leonchuk, who had visited the Grodno area, these phrases: "The sorrow of Belorussia, deprived of language and traditions. The greatest sorrow of all sorrows." At first I was indignant, but then I agreed: after all, this is reality... Finally, national nihilism is dangerous, for it gives rise to its own opposite extreme—nationalism. I wholly and completely agree with M. Savitskiy, USSR people's artist, who claims that "nationalism is a sign of under-development," and that "all conditions must be granted for the full-valued life of national cultures" in order to eliminate it.

Since national nihilism is our disease, it is very important to diagnose it precisely, clarify its causes, and determine the means and methods of treatment. The main thing is not to keep silent about the ailment, not to pretend that it does not exist, and thus not drive it inside. In many recent documents and articles (particularly in *VECHERNIY MINSK* and in the academy publication *ZAPEREDOVUYU NAUKU*), only one danger is emphasized and artificially inflated—the

nationalist danger—and its real opposite is not even named. Like any disease, national nihilism must be neither exaggerated, nor minimized. Recently, in the poem "*Razvitanne*," P. Panchenko, a people's poet of Belorussia, calls our national condition mortal, and the losses—irreversible and irreplaceable. However, along with Ya. Bryl and other leaders in culture, I look at the situation far more optimistically. The outcome would be mortal, if it were not for restructuring or if restructuring had started 20 years later. Of course, the ailment exists and it is serious, but enough symptoms have appeared in recent years (they come out both from above, in the directive ranks and the pages of the press, and from below, predominantly in youth and informal groups), that recovery can be spoken of seriously. The patient is beginning to learn how to walk. The extra gulp of healing patriotism is not as dangerous for him, as are the persistent warnings that, they say, it is possible to strike the opposite extreme and receive injuries, like the previous, stagnant confusion of national with nationalistic.

Many people have already written about the reasons for our national nihilism. Therefore, I will speak very laconically. It is my profound certainty that our national troubles began back in the second half of the 16th century (until this, everything was more or less normal—we recollect Skorin, the chronicles, and the statutes), when the feudal upper classes betrayed their people, in the pursuit of privilege, and began adopting the Polish language and culture. The ancient Belorussian language, which was the state language in the Great Kingdom of Lithuania, was squeezed out of the official sphere by the end of the 17th century and limited to household use. Later, when the Belorussian lands became part of tsarist Russia, the social upper classes, pursuing the very same privileges, converted to the Russian language with just as much ease. As a result, by the end of the 20th century the Belorussian nation had successfully shaped itself as a nation. True, this process was accelerated after the formation of the Belorussian SSR, during the Leninist period of our life, when Belorussian became the leading language in social and cultural spheres.

However, the flowering was brief. The Stalinist repressions soon began, when everything national was equated with nationalism, and then the period of stagnation, when national nihilism was in particular favor, and was mandatorily propagated. Thus, we are faced with an old, chronic disease, the treatment of which does not promise to be easy. Along with practical interference and a strong-willed "directive" elimination of stagnant deformations (particularly to convert schools to the Belorussian language), laborious, daily work is needed, the results of which are unnoticeable at first. Today, specific, constructive work is needed much more than general appeals.

Just as when treating any disease, when eliminating national nihilism it is particularly important to determine the areas affected most, and then select the most radical means. In our social organism, it is obvious that

reason (the system of education) and the heart (the system of culture) have suffered the most from this ailment. They need special attention today.

Where is the basic link, which, once grasped, can pull out the entire "chain"? I see it as the higher education system, as the preparation of national cadres for our schools and cultural institutions. The correct decisions can be made, so that the teaching of Belorussian begins in the second and even first (finally!) grades, and to create Belorussian language kindergartens, but the general decisions hang in the air, for... who will do all of this? I recall, last spring, fulfilling the request of the Minsk Gorkom CP Buro, I went to a meeting at Secondary School No 73 (with intensified study of German), and several parents of future first-graders already agreed with me, that along with a foreign language, it is also necessary to know one's own native language, that it is possible to create a Belorussian class in the school too. But all hopes turned out to be in vain: in the director's words, there was no teacher in the school who would be able to conduct such a class. My colleagues, who had visited other capital schools at that time, encountered similar difficulties. The situation in the oblast and rayon centers is far worse (arriving there, at Russian secondary schools, the graduates of Belorussian 8-year schools do not have an opportunity to continue education in their native language, which affects their progress as well. Many of those who teach in the Belorussian language in rural schools do not know it well themselves, are not fluent in oral speech, and therefore only traumatize the children).

Thus, a solution suggests itself: the training of national cadres in our universities, pedagogical institutes and pedagogical schools must be decisively improved. Meanwhile, only the first timid steps are being taken in this direction. Recently, in the large-circulation newspaper "*SAVETSKI NASTAUNIK*," I read a "resolution" by the scientific council of the Minsk Pedagogical Institute Imeni A.M. Gorkiy of 27 September 1988. Many things in this document made me happy: as of the 1989/1990 school year, entrance exams for prospective students will be given in Belorussian, and for graduates—the corresponding written exam. However, most points in the resolution only concern the philological departments. Yet, who will train historians, physicists, biologists, and chemists for today's and tomorrow's Belorussian schools? It is clear that 70 hours of Belorussian language in the first and second classes is insufficient for them. At the institute, future teachers should learn to speak (if they were not taught previously) in the native language. However, are they being taught? No, not unless the corresponding conditions which stimulate the microclimate are created. Indeed, not unless this language becomes commonplace and prestigious at the institute, unless the teachers, deans and directors start using it.

Here, we have come to the most important element. The most radical solution to national nihilism is, it seems to me, to elevate the prestige of the native language and the

Belorussian national history and culture. Of course, the Belorussian language should be granted (on the example of other republics) the status of a state language (it is absurd that it was such during the Great Kingdom of Lithuania, but is not now). Of course, it is necessary to restore the corresponding 22nd Article of the 1927 Belorussian SSR Constitution, which states that the Belorussian language is chosen as predominant in interrelations between state, professional and public institutions and organizations. However, this declaration will not bring about the desired result, if it is not strengthened by real efforts on the part of these same institutions and organizations, aimed at strengthening the native language's prestige. Due to considerations of prestige, our ancestors (and we ourselves in the stagnant times) rejected it. There are no other radical ways to revive it. Let us recall, incidentally, how the Russian language was revived after the French domination: the tsar's court, officials, and nobility started speaking it, and considered it necessary to start speaking it. Patriotic aspirations among them increased, and the language situation in the country changed. Great classics appeared. Of course, all comparisons, so to speak, are weak, but historical analogs are perceptible here.

When we speak of reviving the Belorussian language today, we usually have in mind both higher education, as well as secondary schools, kindergartens, cultural institutions, and the press. However, for some reason, we forget one very important link in the process of forming the human personality—the family. So long as the native speech is not remembered in the family, it will not become alive—people will not speak in it in kindergartens, or in schools, or the university, or on the street. The family will only start speaking it when the language becomes necessary and prestigious—for interaction at one's job and in one's studies, for speeches at Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet and party conference sessions (for the time being, this is not the standard, but a dangerous deviation from the standard—we remember the negative reaction to the speech in Belorussian by journalist Yaroslav Chapli at the Sovetskiy Rayon, Minsk, party conference). Incidentally, even LITERATURNAYA GAZETA directed attention to this detail.

Prestige is impossible if it is not created and consecrated by worthy example. Appeals for bilingualism are one thing, and its practical reality is another. I recently became familiar with an excerpt from Protocol No 22 of a Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers Presidium conference. It stated that Belorussian CP Central Committee resolutions related to the further study of Belorussian in the republic are being implemented unsatisfactorily (and this is true). It named very necessary measures (for example, the study of Belorussian language in the first grade in the republic Russian-language schools). However, even this document was written in Russian. What will the effect of its influence be in such a case?! In appealing for correction of the language situation, for bilingualism, we most often remain mono-lingual, reminiscent of a doctor who persuades a patient that he must

give up smoking for his health's sake, but is enjoying cigarette smoke himself at the same time... In short, theory is not being supported by practice. This is no longer only fruitless, and not just a manifestation of incompetence. This is immoral.

This is why it is so important today for every person who has forgotten the native language of Belorussia, no matter what his position in society (particularly if he works in ideology, education, or culture), realize the abnormality and unnatural nature of his own objective reality, of his own separation from his native roots, and find inner-strength within himself, in order to step across the psychological barrier and—begin to speak! This will be difficult at first. Some discomfort may even arise, particularly if one takes into account the fact that for the time being no appropriate traditions, courses, and textbooks exist. Unfortunately, misunderstanding and even ridicule can occur (I remember a general meeting of writers and workers in education, when several literati practically met the speakers' every little language blunder with whoops of mockery—so I would like to ask those who gloat: where is the traditional Belorussian benevolence and tolerance? However, this step must be taken, for our own sakes, for the sake of our people's future, and so that our words are not separate from our actions.

I am sure that personal example plays an exclusive role in overcoming initial nihilism. Even in the worst, stagnant times, in those places where the leader found the courage, in spite of everything, to speak the native language, the collective also spoke it. I remember the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Geochemistry and Geophysics, headed in those years by Academician G. Goretskiy. Belorussian was heard in meetings and conferences here, narrowly specialized books were published, and the scientific associates truly became bilingual.

Here is a more recent case. The fact that the conversion of schools to Belorussian instruction is going more successfully in Minsk, than in other cities of the republic, is the unquestionable service of P. Kravchenko, Belorussian CP Gorkom secretary, who, in speaking and agitating, sets a personal example (it is instructive to observe how others—some by conviction, and some for the sake of their own prestige at first—are successfully emulating him, one after another). I do not at all understand P. Petrikov, Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, who publicly, from the rostrum of an academy-wide party conference, reproached P. Kravchenko for "introducing the Belorussian language everywhere, even in kindergartens" (I quote from the academy newspaper). The same scientist claimed that even... Minsk street signs in Belorussian lead "to nationalism." Of course, you can't deny P. Petrikov consistency: in his day, as director of the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of History, he reduced the use of Belorussian to nothing there. However, after all, times have changed. Today, it is absurd to accuse those

representatives of the city authorities who are correcting (and rather timidly besides) the previous deformations, of nationalism, in the spirit of stagnant times.

Sometimes it seems to me that, in overcoming national nihilism, somehow we are complicating and bureaucratizing the problem, skipping over the main point. We are making a large number of decisions and rhetorically appealing for bilingualism. In fact, however, we are engaging in the infamous Krylov "you-ism." After all, the explanation is quite simple: it is necessary to start speaking and necessary to want to start speaking, just as the leading cadres did in the Leninist 1920s. And as the historian Pichet, art critic Shchekotikhin, the writer Mirovich, and many others, Russian by nationality, managed to do at that time. They did it so that the Belorussian language would not become something like dead Latin. So that we would become a normal nation.

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Belorussian Cultural Society Formed in Moscow
18001049a Minsk ZNAMYA YUNOSTI in Russian
7 Apr 89 p 1

[Interview with Gennadiy Pribytko, council member of the Society of Belorussian Culture imeni Frantsisk Skorina and chairman of the Language Commission, by A. Lipay, correspondent: "We Expect Support: Five Minutes for An Interview"]

[Text] The Society of Belorussian Culture imeni Frantsisk Skorina has already been in operation in Moscow for three months. How necessary is it? What does it engage in? Our correspondent A. Lipay requested Gennadiy Pribytko, a council member of the society and chairman of its language commission, to answer these questions.

"People who live beyond the borders of their native area," Gennadiy stated in the interview, "feel very keenly a shared communality with their own people. And according to the 1979 Census, there are more than 50,000 Belorussians living in Moscow. Many of us do not want to lose our ties with the republic and are striving to make a contribution to the revival of the Belorussian language and culture. The Moscow Society of Belorussian Culture is the consolidation of our efforts along these lines."

[Lipay] What have you set as your goals?

[Pribytko] Heightening the national self-awareness and people's general cultural standards. And, of course, this is impossible without mastering the culture and the language of one's own people.

[Lipay] So what we are talking about is a specific educational program, right?

[Pribytko] Yes, that's right, but in the broadest sense of that word. So as to give you some idea of our activity, let me tell you what we've already accomplished. Meetings have been held with Vasilii Bykov, Ales Adamovich, Nil Gilevich, Gennadiy Buravkin, and with the Bialystock writers. A People's University of Belorussian History has been opened. We've been working on restoring the Krutitskiy Homestead, which was built by our countrymen in Moscow during the 17th century. In September we intend to open a Belorussian school for children. Here we will combine a broad-based aesthetic education with instruction in our native language.

[Lipay] How can Belorussia be of help to you?

[Pribytko] First of all, we are expecting aid in working out methods for teaching the Belorussian language to children. Our school will need textbooks, and other books, moreover, not in their traditional form, but containing didactically interesting information. Because, after all, it's easier for children to learn during games and conversations.

The editors join in Gennadiy Pribytko's words and request pedagogues, as well as literary specialists to help our countrymen. Send your suggestions and programs to the newspaper's address, and we will send them on to the Society of Belorussian Culture imeni Frantsisk Skorina.

Cultural Worker Traces History of Suppression of Belorussian Language
18001049b Minsk SELSKAYA GAZETA in Russian
5 May 89 p 3

[Article under "A Word about Our Native Words" rubric, by Andrey Kolos, BSSR Honored Cultural Worker: "No, Our Language Will Not Disappear"]

[Excerpts] This happened about 15 years ago. At one of the republic-level conferences on ideological issues Ivan Melezh, People's Writer of Belorussia and Lenin Prize Winner, asked for the floor. He began to speak about a topic which was quite unexpected for that period of time—the fate of our native Belorussian language, the alarming situation at that time under which the sphere of its use was being dangerously and menacingly narrowed down. Ivan Pavlovich read aloud the following lines by the Dagestanian poet, Rasul Gamzatov:

But if my language will disappear tomorrow,

Then I am prepared to die today,—adding, moreover, that he could sign his name to these words with both hands.

I remember that, when the writer had finished his speech, applause was heard in the hall. At first, to be sure, it was timid, with many furtive glances here and there (this was necessary; someone had dared to talk about something about which it was not accepted to speak at that time), but then increasingly friendly and

approving. In my opinion, nobody who listened to Ivan Pavlovich's ardent speech at that time, which touched us to the quick and stirred a very old pain, could fail to be moved to thought. Because, of course, we had reached a point where just about anybody who spoke Belorussian was regarded with disapproval, as some sort of splinter "national democrat."

Indeed, just how did it come about that the need arose to defend the right to exist, to protect from a "quiet" death our native language, which was given to us by our fathers and mothers so that we could come to know the world and life, the beauty of our native words, the singing quality and originality of our own land and its voices.

This, of course, is something that everybody knows: due to historical conditions, the Belorussians lived through whole centuries of political, social, and national oppression, when the very Belorussian land and the language of its people were considered to be "non-operative." The chauvinistic policy of the tsarist autocracy was spiritually devastating to the Belorussians, as well as to Russia's other peoples.

With the victory of the October Revolution, a wind of new hopes began to blow. But soon the Western part of Belorussia came under the yoke of bourgeois-landowners' Poland, and the Belorussian language in the "Eastern Outskirts" was again declared to be a "peasant" language.

Nevertheless, the living tree with deep and strong roots stood fast and did not give in to the fierce storms. All the more so in that on the territory of Soviet Belorussia during the first few post-Revolutionary years, when the Leninist nationality policy began to be implemented, a course aimed at Belorussianization was adopted: our people began to speak in its native language at the top of its voice; it was possible to hear it everywhere: on the streets and in state institutions, at meetings and in friendly conversations—not to mention schools, VUZ's, and theaters.

However, this fruitful process of the Belorussian people's spiritual revival, the flourishing of its national culture, its increasingly substantial contribution to the general treasury of the Soviet people was soon violently and criminally cut short along with a distortion by the "leader of all the peoples" of the Leninist line on the nationality question. In carrying out the will of Stalin and his henchmen, the overly vigilant "guards" began to hang labels of "nationalists" left and right on all those who advocated national culture and language. And such a label almost automatically meant a severe, often capital sentence.

Already at the end of the 1920's Belorussia began to witness the persecution and eradication of the national intelligentsia, which had scarcely begun to operate, along with the leaders of culture and the arts, writers, and teachers. The nation's light—those persons who had

devoted all their efforts to developing culture and science—was being snuffed out. Why did they perish? Because of "counter-revolutionary activity" and "nationalism." And, afraid of being called "nationalists," many people began to abandon their native language....

A terrible blow was also inflicted by the extremely cruel campaign of exiling from Belorussia, from its far-from-rich villages, thousands upon thousands of "kulaks" and "sub-kulaks" who had been discovered here. They were really completely innocent, hard-working peasants who, by the way, were the stronger preservers of the native language and national treasures.

Alas, even after the war, during the years when our republic's economy was being restored, the beneficial processes did not affect the Belorussian language. Text-books came into the schools more and more written in Russian. I recall how in Volkovysk, upon the orders of the then chairman of the gorispolkom, the names of the streets were changed from Kastus Kalinovskiy, Maksim Bogdanovich, Frantishkek Bogushevich, Frederick Chopin, and other outstanding figures of Belorussian and Polish culture. They were replaced by tablets bearing completely different names and in a different language. To my question as to why the inscriptions were not done in Belorussian, the mayor replied self-confidently: "But why should they be? Belorussian is just Russian spoiled by custom...."

Such were the kinds of "cultural zealots" who frequently defined the policy of those times, and we are still harvesting their bitter fruits even nowadays.

Of course, the broad-based development of Russian-language usage in the republic has been a phenomenon both progressive and objectively necessary. The Russian language, which is close to Belorussians by its Slavic kinship and which is understood and beloved by them, is a means of inter-ethnic communication within our country, as well as bring the fraternal peoples of the USSR to the treasure-house of the Great Russian and world culture, science, and sociopolitical thought. And during that difficult postwar period, when all the republics of our country stretched out to Belorussia the fraternal hand of help, when people of various nationalities, and primarily from the RSFSR, came to us in order to restore our ruined economy, the development of Russo-Belorussian bilingualism became particularly urgent. But specifically on an equal existence and usage, rather than crowding out the language of the indigenous nationality by another one.

Is it really justifiable that in the Western Belorussian rayons at that time many newspapers began to be published in Russian, and that the initially bilingual oblast-level newspapers in Grodno, Brest, and Molodechnensk, as well as the KOLKHOZNAYA PRAVDA and SELSKAYA GAZETA, which began appearing in November, 1962, have switched entirely to Russian?

During the years of stagnation a similar vicious practice continued: our native language became virtually a "museum piece," almost disappeared from our educational institutions, state and cultural institutions, as well as daily communication. The "chain reaction" of moving away from the Belorussian language proceeded "from above" downward, reflecting a radical distortion of inter-ethnicity as well as a turning away from the national. For many persons manifesting a high "degree of culture," and "education" was to be an "Ivan," who did not recall his lineage. Having forgotten their native language but not having fully mastered Russian, other imitators of "culture"—often with diplomas and solid positions—explain themselves even now by saying that the confusion stems from the illiteracy and poverty of the unknown "kakovskiy" language which grates upon the normal sense of hearing. How is one supposed to talk with such persons about national pride, something inherent to every people, along with equal respect for and interest in other peoples? About the rich history of their native land, vitally linked with the history of the multinational Soviet Motherland, about the glorious sons and daughters of Belorussia, whose deeds and names are dear not only to Belorussians? That is, about that on which the greatest gain of our Revolution is based—the Leninist friendship between citizens of the socialist Fatherland?

Moreover, one could cite many, many examples whereby a profound, radical link with language and the national culture is far from being a hindrance to mastering cultural riches, which, according to the Leninist expression, has been developed by mankind. There are no fewer examples whereby people of other nationalities, who have come to live in Belorussia have assimilated not only its spirit but also its language, thereby manifesting a profound respect for the land and the people among whom they are living.

Here, for example, is Vasiliy Dvoryaninov, a Kuban Cossack, who after demobilization edited GOMELSKAYA PRAUDA for several years. And People's Artist of the Republic Pavel Kormunin from the Kupalovskiy Theater, which we know well and love for its stage and film productions, where he so organically embodies the Belorussian national character. But he is not a Belorussian at all; he was born in the Tatar republic. And outstanding figures of Belorussian Soviet culture—such as the producer-director Yevgeniy Mirovich or the composer Yevgeniy Tikotskiy are Petersburgers who linked their fate, their talent, their creativity, with work in the field of spiritually enriching the Belorussian people.

On more than one occasion we have heard from guests of our republic that they like the Belorussian language very much—a rich, flexible, expressive, and imagistic language. This is felt particularly in folkloristic creativity—songs, tales, poetic rituals, in which the people's beautiful and noble soul lives. How can we not grieve that the folklore traditions are dying out in many places, and that

all possible cultural measures even in rural areas are not conducted in the native languages? This problem became timely long ago—the transposition of our culture to a national basis.

Whether or not it must be, there is still quite a long ways to go before reaching the desired stage. Although, gratifyingly, there are already hope-giving shifts, the shoots of a new attitude toward the national culture and history. We cannot help noticing an interest in it, and it is growing; the horizon is becoming brighter. The fresh wind of perestroika is returning our nationality policy to the Leninist path and eliminating the deformations of former years. Large-scale measures are being undertaken to straightening out the abnormal language situation in our republic.

In September of last year the Buro of the Belorussian CP Central Committee approved the "Basic Measures for Further Developing Public Education in the Belorussian SSR," which provides for the expansion of a network of Belorussian-language, preschool institutions, as well as classrooms and schools. In order to implement them, we must all work hard, without folding our hands or giving in to difficulties. The revival of our native language, further development of Belorussian-Russian bilingualism spiritually enriches our people, strengthens even more the age-old friendship with our Russian brothers, and the multi-national unity within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Newly Elected Peoples' Deputy Yu. Shcherbak on Elections, Other Issues

18001065 Kiev *RABOCHAYA GAZETA* in Russian
8 Apr 89 p 2

[Interview with Yu.N. Shcherbak, USSR people's deputy, writer, by S. Bozhko: "There's No Alternative to Life"]

[Text] Yu. Shcherbak's first collection of short stories and tales, entitled "How It Is At War!" ["Yak na viyni!"] was published during the year in which he defended his candidate's dissertation. For almost 30 years Yuriy Nikolayevich has devotedly served science and the muses. And we will not put too fine a point on explaining at this time which matter he considered the main thing, the work he valued most highly—his scientific-practical work at the Kiev Institute of Epidemiology, Microbiology, and Parasitology, or the creative work to which his days off and leave time were devoted."

And so the result of three decades of his life encompasses participation in eliminating dangerous infections, including cholera epidemics in Central Asia and in the Ukraine, for which the physician Shcherpak was awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labor. This is his scientific quest, and then there was the brilliant defense of his doctoral dissertation. The result of his creative activity encompasses several books of prose and

poetry, numerous plays, scenarios of feature and documentary films. It was specifically Yu.N. Shcherbak's literary activity which was marked in 1984 by the Prize imeni Yu. Yanovskiy.

In 1987 Yu. Shcherbak retired from the institute, since his work on the documentary book entitled "Chernobyl," numerous meetings with the heroes of his future work, and his widespread public activity have been demanding more and more of his time.

And suddenly a new turn of fate—Yuriy Nikolayevich Shcherbak was elected a USSR people's deputy for the Shevchenko Election District No 469 of the city of Kiev.

[Bozhko] Six writers were elected as USSR deputies from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, among which is the Ukrainian poet B. Oleynik. The right to be represented was also acquired by other public organizations, including the USSR Union of Writers. The seat of USSR people's deputy for Ukrainian literature was obtained by O. Gonchar. Moreover, many labor collectives in this republic nominated candidates for territorial and national-territorial districts who are members of the writers' organization. Do you, Yuriy Nikolayevich, evaluate these facts as a recognition of the large role being played by the creative intelligentsia in public life?

[Shcherbak] This is, undoubtedly, a recognition of the role played by the creative intelligentsia, in particular, by writers, and their contribution to the cause of perestroika. I participated in the work of the Plenum of the USSR Union of Writers at which candidate-writers went through the procedure of voting. This is, undoubtedly, a positive fact, a democratic fact because 12 out of the 85 aspirants were registered. There are 10 seats for the entire Union of Writers. But, of course, 10 seats are too few, in my opinion. Not all the union's republic-level organizations, nor all the national literatures received their own representation. And so there's something to think about here.

[Bozhko] You cast your ballots for two territorial and one national-territorial district in Kiev. Among your rivals were workers, scientists, directors of large enterprises, and writers. And so you had quite a bit of experience in the pre-election struggle. How do you evaluate the present election campaign in general?

[Shcherbak] I cannot say that it has been perfected. There are things to work on, things to be improved. This pertains to representation from public organizations, and it pertains to the procedure for conducting district meetings. Because there are maximalists who want only their candidates to make it through. But this simply does not happen in life. We must be realists.

But I am confident that if there are more deputies who are truly people's deputies, and if there were more such persons, here would be a new quality to our parliament. And this would be a guarantee of perestroika, of the irreversibility of those positive processes which are now taking place.

[Bozhko] Nowadays writers have emerged from their studies and workrooms and gone out into the masses; they are actively engaging not only in public activity and politics. Is this a sign of the times?

[Shcherbak] In all times the writer, the true writer, has not remained as a merely sideline observer of the history of his own people. He has been an active participant in this history. Let's recall the great Kobzar. Let's recall N.A. Nekrasov's vital credo: "You may not be a poet, but you must be a citizen." Therefore, I consider that there is nothing astounding about the fact that writers have turned out to be in the whirlpool of the precipitous processes which are rapidly being unleashed in society nowadays. This is a phenomenon which is in complete conformity with principles. Because, after all, in order to know the people, to feel their pain and happiness, to understand their problems, it is necessary to be among the people, together with them, to share equally in their happiness and grief.

I frequently meet with my readers, and I see how they are changing. If I formerly used to encounter people who, for the most part, were cautious, who were afraid to say something too much, to express their own personal opinions, people who agreed more often than they disputed, nowadays I see other kinds of people. People who have been freed from fear. People with their own opinions, with their own voices, finally. So the processes of perestroika are taking place not only in economics and politics. They are taking place in people's psychology, in their characters, and in their fates. And only those writers who "go out into the people" can sense this and understand it.

[Bozhko] Under the conditions of the democratization of our society many amateur associations and clubs have come into being. What's your attitude toward these informal public organizations? What has your own leadership role in the "Green World" Public Association personally given you?

[Shcherbak] In the first place, I very much dislike the term "informals." It contains, if not an hostile attitude, at least one of unfriendliness.

And, in the second place, today the public groups are no longer so monotonous and similar to each other.

In my opinion, all groups which do not contradict the USSR Constitution have the right to exist. Because, a socialistic, democratic state should be marked by a bright spectrum of various public organizations, clubs, and societies. Only thus can a person fulfill himself and

his spiritual potential. In general, socialism is the creativity of the masses, the free development of people. And so we must support in all manner of ways those amateur associations which reflect the aspirations of working people to participate more actively in perestroika.

But it's no secret that, under the guise of democratization and glasnost, certain persons are speculating on the trust and inexperience of their listeners; they are launching attacks against socialism and attempting to push people onto the path of illegality. We must all learn to live under the conditions of democracy, to inculcate a lofty political culture in ourselves. Because, of course, democracy is incommensurate with an irresponsibility for our own words and deeds.

In 1988, with the active participation and support of the Union of Writers, an ecological movement arose in the Ukraine and took on an organizational form; it united numerous groups into the association known as "The Green World." Its idea is a union of emotions and reason, of ardent patriotic feelings and cool, rational skills, a union of workers, peasants, technical, scientific, and creative intelligentsia for the sake of saving life on our Earth.

What does participation in the association's work give me personally? Above all, a sense of responsibility to nature and to the life of our children. People come to us from various oblasts in the Ukraine. Here just recently an entire delegation from the village of Popovka, Konotopskiy Rayon, Sumy Oblast, came to attend a session of "The Green World." The people are agitated by the fact that some sort of enterprise is being built in their village. "Save us, help us!" they appealed to us. "Because this enterprise will ruin our village." These people are disturbed and indignant that nobody spoke to them about the construction, nobody explained what kind of enterprise this is, how it would influence the environment and people's health. Of course, it is necessary that attention be paid here, they should have had extremely expert advice if there was none there already.

And when you find out about such facts (and, unfortunately, there are quite a few of them), you cannot be calm, you cannot help feeling your own personal responsibility for what is happening on Earth.

[Bozhko] Isn't it for this reason that you are speaking out in favor of the adoption of the Law on Information, for the promulgation of all data regarding environmental pollution and about the medical and genetic consequences of violating the ecological balance in various regions of the USSR?

[Shcherbak] Today the problem of ecology, the problem of protecting the environment from man's insane, barbaric interference has come to rank first; it has become a general problem for all mankind.

It's high time that we took more decisive measures to restore health to the ecological situation in our country. In my own program I've proposed that we revise the plan for developing nuclear-energy engineering, taking into consideration the ecological exhaustion of a number of the country's regions, especially the UkSSR, to put a halt to particularly dangerous enterprises, to cut back sharply on the use in agriculture of toxic chemicals and chemical fertilizers, which are dangerous to human health.

[Bozhko] But there is another opinion, one which states that there is no alternative to nuclear-power plants or to chemical production. Could you reply to this?

[Shcherbak] There is an alternative. In the first place, these include ecologically "clean" methods of production.

There are completely substantial alternatives to nuclear-power plants. I'm not going to speak about the entire country; let me speak about something closer to me, about that which I know best—the Ukraine. The first alternative is to economize on electric power. We now squander it left and right: we are expending it for production per unit of output in amounts which are three or four times that which is necessary.

We cannot always increase our expenditure of electric power. We must pause. We must reduce production's energy consumption by means of new, energy-conserving technology. Nowhere in the world are there such enormous losses in transmitting power over long distances due to imperfections in technology and equipment as there are in our country. They total amounts which come to approximately five times the amount produced by Dneproges!

If everything continues as before, we will be constantly short of power, and we will have to exhaust ourselves in building newer and newer nuclear-power plants. Since nuclear power as a resource is not infinite either, this will go on for 25-30 years. By the way, we are already confronted with a new problem: What should we do with the wastes from nuclear-power plants?

Solar and wind energy is hardly used at all in our country. The Ministry of Power and Electrification does not wish to concern itself with small-scale electric-power plants, which are ecologically "clean," as close as possible to the consumers, and cheap to operate. Our country ranks 67th in the world with regard to the use of these types of energy sources.

Our country has put a "freeze" on developing the traditional types of thermal electric-power plants. This is all the more striking in that scientists and specialists have developed a number of technical and componential solutions which will provide them with flexibility and ecological "cleanness." By the way this problem was raised in the pages of *RABOCHAYA GAZETA* by A. Shidlovskiy, academician, and director of the UkSSR

Academy of Sciences Institute of Electrodynamics; A. Madoyan, director of the Southern Branch of the All-Union Technological Institute; and A. Panov, deputy chairman of the Kiev Board of the All-Union Scientific and Technical Society of Power Engineers and Power Technicians.

Some nuclear-power scientists and engineers have stated (to the government but not to us) that nuclear-power plants are the only path on which the country can proceed. The trouble is that we are always grasping at one magic wand. We want to solve all our problems by a single method. But life is not like that. We should have invested our money in developing alternative types. It's time to correct our own mistakes.

No, we don't want to return to darkness. Sometimes people scold us for this. And I personally don't want to write by the light of candles. But it's not necessary to worry about mankind to explain all the nature-destroying adventures and by the steps of civilization—to barbarically violate the world's ecological wholeness. There is always an alternative to harmful, dangerous production. But there is no alternative to life.

[Bozhko] Nowadays in schools and VUZ's there is a subject entitled "History," but there are no textbooks on the History of the USSR or the History of the UkSSR. Do you think that writers should help the scholars to fill in the blank spaces in the knowledge of our young and not-so-young generations?

[Shcherbak] Writers can create fictional and publicistic works about specific periods. They can, of course, do this. But textbooks are written by scholars. However, it does seem that there should be alternative textbooks. Because history is a science. Moreover, it is more confusing than, let's say, biochemistry. Biochemistry is objective, whereas there is a great deal of the subjective in history. Therefore, there must be the right to exist for the various opinions and differing views of scholars on this or that event. Such a textbook teaches a person to think, to analyze, and to draw his own conclusions.

But nowadays it is better to study history from newspaper or journal-type publications. The opinion to the effect that the scholarly grasp of perestroyka lags behind the publicistic grasp is not a new one. Writers and publicists are the first to speak the truth these days about previously "closed-off" topics; they fill in the "blank spots" of history with facts and documentary evidence.

[Bozhko] Do you think that a new textbook on history should have pages devoted to Chernobyl?

[Shcherbak] It most certainly should. And not only because this was a major accident. But because this was the first, very dangerous accident of a global type. We must tell our descendants, warn them, what civilization entails, what it bears with it. And it bears both the good

and the bad, the bright and the dark. The Chernobyl accident was a dark warning to all mankind. Therefore, in all textbooks and in all chronicles it must serve as a warning against mistakes.

I recently had a conversation with Comrade I.M. Kamulov, chief of the complex expedition of the Institute imeni Kurchatov. He told me that the scientists and specialists had already approached Reactor No 4 and had already installed periscopes. So they can "look into" the reactor. We have already calmed things down; the sarcophagus has been constructed, and everything is in order. But what more is to be done? We must have a guiding concept.

On the eve of the Third Anniversary of this accident I want to go to Chernobyl. I'm not an engineer, and I do not intend to give advice to the specialists. But I consider that, as a USSR people's deputy I do have the right to ask: What will be done with the unit where the accident took place, and what kind of concept is being developed? Because we cannot wait for a hundred years for this monster to catch up to us. And so, in my opinion, it's still too early to close the book on Chernobyl.

[Bozhko] In your pre-election program the language issue occupies a special place. You advise proclaiming state status for the Ukrainian language with full respect for the free development and use of the languages of the other peoples living in our republic. But doesn't it seem to you that, along with an upsurge in the national, public self-awareness, there is now another phenomenon to be observed—a national nihilism, i.e., an indifference not only to the problem of language but also to the problems of national policy in general?

[Shcherbak] In my program I stated myself to be unambiguously and categorically in favor of strengthening the state status of the Ukrainian language. It was gratifying for me to see that almost all the candidates for deputy who contended with me in the three districts expressed the same opinion, regardless of what language they themselves spoke. National nihilism? Of course, this problem also exists. But now, it seems to me, the problem has swung over preponderantly to the side of national self-awareness.

A person with a nationality is an unfortunate person; he is simply a rolling stone. He senses that he has lost something.

We also expect great things from the recently created Society of the Ukrainian Language imeni Taras Shevchenko. It should facilitate the development of the Ukrainian language, the national culture, and preserve the traditions of the Ukrainian people. Because, after all, without a national self-awareness, without the historical memory of its citizens, there can be no flourishing of inter-ethnic, mutual relations.

**USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Chief
Radiologist on Chernobyl Controversy**
18000981 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
31 Mar 89 p 1

[Interview with I. A. Likhtarev, USSR State Prize laureate, doctor of physico-mathematical sciences, member of the USSR National Commission for Radiation Protection, Chief of the Department of Dosimetry and Radiation Hygiene of the All-Union Scientific Center for Radiation Medicine of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, by PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondent A. Maslov: "Why Did the Crisis of Confidence Arise?"]

[Text] Judging by the letters to the editor, our article "The Export of Incompetency" (March 1, 1989) has elicited a broader reader response. You will recall that the occasion for that response was the appearance of an article in the newspaper MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI which in particular expressed doubts about the extent of radiation contamination suffered by the Narodichskiy Rayon of Zhitomir Oblast as a result of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant accident, and in which the consequences of this radiation were groundlessly exaggerated. A group of scientists requested that PRAVDA UKRAINY also give them, specialists in the field of radiology, the opportunity to express their viewpoint both on the situation in the Narodichskiy Rayon and on the MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI article itself.

We showed the letters we received to Laureate of the USSR State Prize, doctor of physico-mathematical sciences, member of the USSR National Commission on Radiation Protection, Chief of the Dosimetry and Radiation Hygiene Department of the All-Union Scientific Center for Radiation Medicine of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences I. A. Likhtarev. After having read the letters I. A. Likhtarev answered the questions posed by the PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondent.

[Maslov] Several days after your statement appeared in PRAVDA UKRAINY the UkSSR Ministry of Health held a press conference at which journalists were given explanations about the Narodich situation. Unfortunately, I was not at that press conference, but I did obtain information to the effect that not everything, it was claimed, in the article "Export of Incompetence" was true inasmuch as Professor Likhtarev was forced to make apologies at this conference...

[Likhtarev] I actually did feel obliged to apologize to the deputy chairman of the Zhitomir oblispolkom for the unjustifiably harsh words addressed to him. Moreover, of all the leaders of the oblasts which suffered from the Chernobyl accident, he has done more than any other for the inhabitants of the Narodichskiy and Ovruchskiy rayons. But we had different attitudes to the film Microphone which was also under discussion. In the heat of the controversy I perhaps expressed myself more sharply

than I should have. It seems to me that such films cause the public more harm than good. That is my opinion. But sometimes we lack tactfulness in disputes.

With respect to your question. One of the journalists suggested that at the same time I should apologize to Dr. Hale. Because in one of my public statements I declared: We are exaggerating Dr. Hale's role in removing the consequences of the accident. Here not only did I not apologize, but I reaffirmed by position. As a matter of fact the glorification of Dr. Hale by some journalists (who in fact is a good hematologist, but is not a specialist in radiation oncogenesis) seems to me to be an illustration of a well known saying—"no man is a prophet in his own country." For example, a well known journalist who submitted a report to PRAVDA on a radiation accident in Brazil again praised Dr. Hale, but not a single word was said about the Soviet specialist on radiation sickness Georgiy Seledovkin. And after all it was to him, a wonderful physician and scientist, that the UN Brazilian delegation expressed its gratitude for his help to the victims of that accident. In a word, in my opinion we should not become irritated and divide ourselves into groups to seek out who said what in the heat of an argument, but we should simply conscientiously get to work.

[Maslov] Judging from the letters, some of our readers regard the previous article as, in their words, seeing the situation through "rose-colored glasses." "Why," they say, "is it necessary to prove that it is even better now in Narodichakh than it was before the Chernobyl events." (M. Yatsenko, city of Zhitomir). I understand that sarcasm to mean that scientists are embellishing the real situation.

[Likhtarev] That is an incorrect interpretation of the position taken by scientists who are daily engaged in problems associated with the Chernobyl situation. As to the question "what is the situation there today?" those scientists describe the situation the way it is, neither "bad" nor "good." Not one of them was heard to say, and indeed never said, that everything was fine. In fact, the situation is variable. For example, whereas the total individual dose of radiation for 2.5 million Kievans did not exceed 1 rem in the three year period after the accident, the dose was five to six rems for inhabitants of the critical rayons (Narodichskiy, Ovruchskiy, and Poleskiy rayons). Of course, it would be better not to have either of those doses. However, the least of two evils is always better. So you can judge for yourself, what is good and what is bad.

Of course, it is very bad that thousands of hectares in the indicated rayons have been contaminated by radioactive cesium. In fact so much contamination that it that land must be withdrawn from its conventional use. It is also bad that the human suffering has been enormous, and particularly for the inhabitants' children, and that the population of these regions as well as the country have endured and continue to endure enormous moral and

material losses from this accident. It is very bad that the normal lifestyle in dozens of villages has been disrupted and where serious restrictions have been imposed.

Why then, does one still get the impression that scientists and officials are embellishing the real situation? Because those who know the problem professionally can talk about it in figures and facts. And this always seems "more placid," so that the situation does not seem so "bad" as it is depicted by those who heat up the situation out of incompetence and a false sense of civic duty. In my view it is quite intolerable to have someone who wants to gain some capital out this disaster, let us say, notoriety or to pass himself off as a "fighter" or shake loose some resources. This immoral playing on natural human fears will lead to a situation where people will begin to doubt everything without exception.

[Maslov] But I am convinced that this fear could be significantly reduced if individual radiation counters were offered for sale to the broad public.

[Likhtarev] I personally believe that the broad distribution of radiation counters is not necessary. One could argue extensively about why they are not necessary. This problem has even been discussed at international forums where scientists have come to the same conclusion. Nevertheless, if a social order for such sales were made, then obviously such an order should be fulfilled. After all, if a person is driven by emotions and experiences which should and can be alleviated by this means, then there simply is no other way. This is an objective factor although it lies within the subjective sphere.

A quite recent session of the USSR National Commission on Radiation Protection examined the question of making that kind of "people's dosimeter." One of the Leningrad organizations even demonstrated a model. It was generally agreed that this dosimeter should have two properties. In the first place, its scale should have, let us say, three indices. For example, "clean," "caution," and "danger." In principle all that is quite clear. But we do have a problem when it comes to the second property. What should the instrument be set to read? Gamma radiation background? Radioactivity in milk? Radioactivity in the air? Contamination on a wall? These are all different objects.

And there is one more problem that has not been resolved anywhere in the world. Where would such a dosimeter be adjusted? At a watchmaker's shop? After all, it must be no less accurate than a watch. Just imagine what would happen if the instrument stopped working and yielded false readings for technical reasons. Again this is fraught with psychological trauma for a person. But even if all of these problems could be resolved, I very much doubt that our industry could succeed in starting up the mass production of these dosimeters inasmuch as

it is not even able to satisfy the market for irons. We should really think about whether it pays to spend money on the production of instruments that are in principle not needed.

[Maslov] But what are the Japanese bringing to our country?

[Likhtarev] They are bringing professional instruments that require professional skills to operate and which are also expensive in their own country.

[Maslov] Can you make a comparison between the radiation dose which the Chernobyl nuclear power plant employees and Narodichskiy Rayon inhabitants received and are now receiving?

[Likhtarev] Whereas the permissible dose in 1986 for the persons engaged in the Chernobyl cleanup 25 rem, it was 10 rem for the public. In the second year those figures were 10 and 3 respectively. In 1988 the plant employees returned to the pre-accident five rem whereas the permissible dose for the public during that year was put at 2.5 rem. Those values are the so-called accident norm levels. Now as to the actual doses. Usually plant employees (professionals) receive doses at a level that is ten percent of the norm. Of course, in the accident years (particularly in 1986) every effort was made to keep within the accident norm level. As regards the public, I have already given the average dose values for the past three years: They are approximately one-third of the permissible level which for those three years was 15.3 rems.

[Maslov] A local journalist O. Kalashnikov asked the following question: Why have all the studies been confined to radioactive cesium while neglecting other long-life radionuclides (strontium and radium isotopes)?

[Likhtarev] For the simple reason that significant quantities of radioactive strontium can only be detected in specific sectors within the 30 kilometer zone. That is one feature of this accident. And radium in principle cannot be formed in a nuclear reactor. It exists in nature as a natural radionuclide. Therefore it has no relationship to the Chernobyl accident.

[Maslov] One of our readers declares: "Do you not agree that the phrase 'radiation is not harmful to the human body' is absurd."

[Likhtarev] Yes that is nonsense. That kind of thinking makes no sense. The human species *Homo sapiens* developed through evolution and continues to live within a certain range of radiation effects due to the natural background (as do other mammals, incidentally). We do not yet know whether or not this level of radiation is an obligatory attribute of life. In any case, there are some experimental data which seem to indicate that when the radiation dosage is below the background level, this has an adverse effect on experimental animals (lower

longevity, etc.). I mention this because one cannot simply examine such complex problems as the effects of radiation on a living organism even when the radiation is at large or near-background levels. It makes no difference whether the source of radiation is natural or artificial.

[Maslov] Should there be a different lifestyle between, let us say, that of a Kievan resident and that of a resident in the Narodichskiy Rayon?

[Likhtarev] I can only give you my personal opinion. The overwhelming majority of Kievans do not keep cattle and do not produce milk in their personal farms, and other food products of their own production, so to speak, do not play an essential role in their diet. In that sense the inhabitants of many villages in the Narodichskiy Rayon have been severely limited to "urban" resident conditions. For them, this is of course unnatural. It is my conviction that limitations in the rest of their behavioral patterns are not justified. There are presently no reasons to retain the extended day routine for senior school pupils or to limit their hiking and swimming activities. The harm that comes from such restrictions far exceeds any harm to their health from radiation either in the Poleskiy or Narodichskiy rayons.

And would I go to live in one of the villages of the Narodichskiy Rayon together with our child? (I get that question rather frequently in meetings with residents as well as in letters). No, I would not go there. But not because of the radiation, but because of other understandable everyday reasons. First of all I am engaged in my work which is not there. It is no secret that up to now the flow of migration has been from the country to the city, and not the other way around. And that is happening without radiation reasons.

[Maslov] What else did you point out in the letters?

[Likhtarev] A concerned letter was sent by I. Makarenko, chief of civil defense of the Narodichskiy Rayon. Part of his questions were of professional nature. But there were quite a few questions and it would simply be impossible to answer each of those points in a brief interview. I would suggest that the author of the letter meet with me at our center in Kiev at a mutually convenient time. Then we would be able to discuss everything that disturbs I. Makarenko.

I read with interest the letter from N. Kiereyev in Vinnitsa. I completely share his view that the article in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI inflicted serious moral damage to the residents of the Narodichskiy Rayon.

[Maslov] There have been many complaints that one could not obtain anywhere detailed information about the radiation situation in the regions around the "zone."

[Likhtarev] In response to your question I would like to comment on the letter from a group of associates at the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Nuclear Research which was sent to your editor. Even though the letter contains inaccuracies, to put it mildly, I would subscribe to practically every one of their points. I agree as to what is needed: regularly conducted expert surveys of the radiation situation in the Ukraine in an atmosphere of genuine and complete frankness that includes the participation of public ecology organizations; that maps describing the radiation situation and the results of expert repeated surveys must be accessible to the public and be kept at the ispolkoms of the local soviets; that data on morbidity and its causes should be declassified and published regularly in the republic and local press; that there should be a strict law, including criminal punishment, against officials who suppress information about the ecological and particularly the radiation situation.

The public must be given the fullest possible information about the accident. And if the public is not able to comprehend some of the data, then no effort should be spared to explain everything to the people. This is all the more advisable because, as was correctly pointed out by the Nuclear Research Institute associates, an information vacuum is quickly filled by monstrous rumors.

At a recent meeting at a Polesk school a girl who I would say reflected civic tension, got up and declared in front of everybody—and she wasn't the only one—"We don't believe you!" This is another result of the inaccessibility of information, particularly during the first year after the accident. Moreover, information was frequently not available not only to the public, but to many specialists as well. The lack of information and its substitution by extremely naive statements and sometimes by lies and incompetent assurances, undermined the people's trust in even the most elementary things and even to the plainly "proven" facts.

In order to regain somehow the trust that had been lost we suggested to those in our brigades who wished to do so, to work in the Poleskiy Rayon and thereby help us and themselves, i.e. to obtain information literally from a zero base, first hand. This girl whose name was Ruslana, promised to gather around her the "non-believer" moms and dads. Let the people see for themselves how the dosimeters are distributed and the they are read, and how radioactive cesium in the human body is measured and counted, etc. Then let them tell the people about everything in any form they wished. We guarantee that we will remove all official barriers and offer exhaustive explanations.

But surely that will not resolve the problem of openness as a whole. Here, forgive me, but still would like say a few words to your colleagues. One can of course reproach journalists for going after "hot" news and we scientists can be reproached for hiding that news. But let us for a minute place ourselves in the position of those people on

whom an abundance (or a deficiency) of these facts is strewn. That is why I believe that it is necessary to get both journalists and representatives of the public into the sphere of fact-finding (but not into sphere of passions) and involve them in the collection of data and their analysis since we already have a lack of trust.

And that, by the way, is yet another serious lesson the Chernobyl.

Our mail contained one more letter that was signed by dozens of residents in the Narodichskiy Rayon. The sense of that letter boiled down to the fact that "we do not believe the declarations of the scientists that appeared in PRAVDA UKRAINY, but we believe only what was said in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI." That is to say that the letter reflects the situation about which Professor I. Likhtarev spoke. Will even one fancier of "secrets" bear responsibility, even if only symbolic, for the psychological trauma that has been suffered by the people and for this crisis of distrust?

Moreover, the editorial office was telephoned by N. Sere-dovich, secretary of the one of local territorial party organizations. He reported that at an assembly residents of several villages demanded that a representative of PRAVDA UKRAINY come to see them. Our special correspondent A. Sokol did go out to meet the residents of two rayons—Narodichskiy and Polesskiy—as well as with scientists from the Radiology Center and Institute for Nuclear Research which are carrying out studies here.

UkSSR KGB Deputy Chief on Rehabilitation of Repression Victims

18001096a Kiev RABOCHAYA GAZETA in Russian
9 Apr 89 p 4

[Article by A. Abdullin, under rubric "Report from the Investigation Department of UkSSR KGB": "Behind a Door Without a Lock"]

[Text] As long ago as December 1988, during the preparation of a statement in RABOCHAYA GAZETA by the chairman of UkSSR KGB that was dedicated to the seventieth anniversary of the formation of the All-Ukrainian ChK [Extraordinary Commission for Combatting Counterrevolution and Sabotage—Cheka], an understanding was reached with the leadership of the republic's KGB concerning the throwing of light upon a number of questions pertaining to the questions of today's activities of Ukrainian Chekists.

"A very important topic that currently is attracting public interest, after the the 19th CPSU Conference and especially after the well-known resolution of the party's Central Committee and the Ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet," we were told during our meeting by Major General G. K. Kovtun, deputy chairman of UkSSR KGB, candidate of legal sciences, "is the process of rehabilitating the citizens who were repressed for no reason during the 1930', 1940's, and the early 1950's. Our

civic and patriotic duty is to restore the pure, bright name of every innocent person who suffered. We are carrying out this work jointly with the republic's Procuracy and Supreme Court and are cooperating actively with public and deputy commissions that have been created in order to render assistance to the rehabilitated individuals in carrying out their rights and interests, and with Memorial Society, and we take a respectful and understanding attitude toward their activity. Many of our administrators are members of those commissions and participate in their work, in reviewing and resolving specific questions.

For example, soon the Governmental Commission on the Incident of Discovering Mass Burials Near the Settlement of Bykovnya will complete its work. Associates of the republic's Committee for State Security carried out a large amount of work to render assistance to the Governmental Commission and the investigative group in re-establishing the truth concerning the tragic prewar years and the years of repressions and arbitrary rule.

How does the rehabilitation process itself occur? What role is played in it by the state security agencies and who specifically engages in this?

Here, as the expression goes, it is better to see once than to hear. G. K. Kovtun provided us with that opportunity, allowing us to visit the Investigation Department of UkSSR KGB, which is taking direct part in that work.

I was met by V. I. Pristayko, deputy chief of the Investigation Department. The first thing that struck my eyes was the traces of a lock on the door leading to the department. Noticing where I was looking, Vladimir Ilich explained, "We used to have a combination lock here, but it was removed more than a year ago..."

Located on the desk in a neat pile were approximately a dozen volumes...

[A. Abdullin] Vladimir Ilich, if it's not a secret, could you tell me what kind of files these are? They're not really spies and traitors to the Motherland, are they?

[V. Pristayko] Worse than that. What we have here is an entire "underground anti-Soviet center." And these people, I must tell you, are not ordinary types—they include academicians, doctors of sciences, party and soviet workers, and major engineers. It's just that our task in this instance is not to bring them to accountability, but to analyze the degree of substantiation for the accusations that have been made against them.

[A. Abdullin] What!

[V. Pristayko] The case of the "Ukrainian National Center"—year 1933. Fifty people were sentenced to terms of from three to six years. True, subsequently a few of them managed to return home. In 1934-1941, 33 of the 50 were brought to criminal responsibility once again

for 'anti-Soviet activity' and 'espionage.' In particular, 21 persons were executed by firing squad, and 12 had their terms of incarceration extended. Most of them died in the camps...

The work of rehabilitating the members of the "Ukrainian National Center" (UNTs) has already been completed. Our investigators studied the documents for several months, looking for arguments to provide a legal justification for the absurdity of the accusations leveled at that group. And you can believe me that it was no easy matter to do this.

In the course of the checking it was established that the criminal case concerning the existence of a counterrevolutionary organization in the Ukraine and the participation of the accused individuals in it had been falsified by the investigative agencies. The file contained information that in 1932-1933 persons who at that time were associates of UkSSR GPU (all of them were subsequently brought to responsibility for having done so) prepared false documents concerning the nationalistic center that allegedly existed. False denunciations were concocted against a large number of citizens who were allegedly active participants in that organization. The basic accusations were anti-Soviet activity, sabotage, espionage, and attempts to disrupt socialist construction in the Ukraine.

The complexity in the work of rehabilitating individuals also lay in the fact that many of the persons who had been convicted had incriminated themselves after failing to withstand exhausting interrogations lasting many hours...

Dozens of volumes of criminal files were studied. Disconnected rehabilitating documents were gathered together from around the country. And even two or three of the minutes of interrogations of former "enemies of the people" attest to the fact that those files were slapped together.

"Over a period of eight to ten days I was interrogated constantly without being given any opportunity to rest... Frequently the staging of execution by firing squad was applied to me. This psychological effect lasted for approximately nine months. So, naturally, I could not stand it any more and I gave depositions that investigator Bordon needed. All my depositions were false, and I subsequently renounced them..."

Or the following minutes:

"We were kept in the same cell with a person who had been accused in the 'Ukrainian National Center' case. He kept trying to persuade us all to incriminate ourself and helped us to prepare fabricated depositions for the investigators, explaining this by the fact that in actuality there was no such organization in the Ukraine, but it was being created with the purpose of discrediting the 2nd International in the eyes of the workers throughout the

world... And to present to the workers the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the role of enemies of the Soviet authority who were disrupting socialist construction. We, the intellectual stratum, had been called upon to assume the mission of admitting participation in that counterrevolutionary organization and of taking on a definite punishment. That was required by the course of development of socialist society in our country..."

[A. Abdullin] Vladimir Ilich, is it really necessary to spend so much time on such "files"? Because everything is very clear and understandable from these two minutes.

[V. Pristayko] Yes, it is. It is definitely necessary. We are attempting also to locate arguments to assure that no one—neither the procurator, nor the court—begins to doubt that a person who suffered was innocent. But at the same time our task is to rehabilitate every person on legal, lawful grounds. In the event that we depart by even an iota from the law, if we close our eyes to some inaccuracy or if we consider something to be an insignificant detail, where is the guarantee that at some time we also will not be called falsifiers?

[A. Abdullin] As long as we have started to discuss major cases in those years, I would like to clarify a certain question. It was reported in the press that the republic's Committee for State Security is carrying out an additional checking of the materials with respect to 45 prominent representatives of the creative intelligentsia and scientific workers who were sentenced in 1930 in the case involving the so-called "Spilki vyzvolennyya Ukrayiny" that was headed by the former vice-president of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Academician S. A. Yefremov. What is the state of that file at the present time?

[V. Pristayko] A tremendous amount of work on this case (the file ran to 237 volumes, and in order to clarify certain things it was also necessary to study more than a hundred other files) has already been completed. Practically our entire department worked on the case for several months. At the present time it has been transferred to the republic's Procuracy. The last word in resolving the fate of the people who were involved in it will be spoken by the UkSSR Procuracy and Supreme Court.

[A. Abdullin] Vladimir Ilich, do relatives ask you to indicate the place where repressed individuals were buried, or to show them the "files"? Or to mention the names of the investigators or informers? Because frequently people did not even know what accusation had been leveled against them, or for what reason they were enduring the tortures and punishments.

[V. Pristayko] I would like everyone to know that we do not make any special secrets out of the documents that are at our disposal. We are ready to report the pertinent information about specific people, but we do not have at our disposal any information concerning the places of

burial of those who died during the years of repressions, and we cannot communicate such information. If the files contain personal documents, any manuscripts, notebooks, or personal photographs of the repressed individuals, we return them to their relatives. As far as allowing persons to become acquainted with the files, it is impossible in this instance to proceed from any other requirements than those of the law. The republic's criminal-proceedings code grants the right to become acquainted with the materials in a criminal case to a strictly limited number of persons and only at a definite stage in the proceedings. The possibility of becoming acquainted with criminal cases that are being stored has not been stipulated by the law even for persons who were previously participants in the proceedings.

Incidentally, it might be appropriate here to mention a certain category of letters.

We sometimes receive requests for rehabilitation from persons who, while attempting to identify themselves as "victims of arbitrary rule," had actually, during the wartime years, as voluntary accomplices of the occupying forces, had committed heinous crimes against the Soviet nation.

The files on such persons, naturally, cannot be reconsidered. And that was stated outright in the Ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[A. Abdullin] But how are the files of the citizens to be rehabilitated selected? Are you proceeding year by year, or is there some other system?

[V. Pristayko] There is no longer any chronological system. Actually, at first we used to carry out the work year by year. But we were convinced very quickly that by following that principle we would lose a very important circumstance. It became a sacred rule for us to search for close relatives of the repressed individual, and in those rare instances when the illegally sentenced person was himself still alive, we had to report to him that he had been completely rehabilitated, and that the black spot had been expunged from his name forever. But by moving ahead from the early 1930's, we would have disregarded for a certain time the 1940's and 1950's. In addition, we would not have been able to consider in a timely manner the letters from relatives and from the repressed individuals themselves. Therefore, today we work simultaneously with documents from the 1930's, 1940's, and 1950's. A special group of associates has been assigned to select the files from the archives.

The planning work here is taking its course. But when we receive letters requesting rehabilitation, we attempt to consider them immediately, although it is by no means a simple matter to do this.

Here is one example. Last year V. F. Skorinskaya, who lives in Odessa, sent us a letter requesting her father's rehabilitation. The search took four months. And it was

only recently that the people in Dneprovsk found a certain document. The case took off, the search was extended throughout the country, and, would you believe, we found... that woman's brother. He is living in Sverdlovsk. These people did not even suspect one another's existence. As children of an "enemy of the people," they had been separated at a very early age. You can imagine what a meeting they had 50 years later! Meanwhile the work of rehabilitating their father was proceeding.

[A. Abdullin] In 1988 the Investigation Department of UkSSR KGB, jointly with the republic's Procuracy, prepared 3000 files for rehabilitation. More than 5000 persons had their good name returned to them.

That work proceeded on a daily basis. The lights are burning in the offices of the Investigation Department until late at night. The people there consider it to be their professional duty to rehabilitate innocent persons who had been sentenced.

Let's be frank: the NKVD and GPU agencies during those years were only one of the units of the ruthless Stalinist Moloch. The same kind of unit as the mass information media, which, as they moved along, grabbed at the next unmasking of the "enemy of the people," the same kind as the meetings of labor collectives that easily bowed to that Moloch with the "unanimous approval" of their coworkers and friends, the same kind as the Writers Union that unanimously approved the expulsion from its ranks, and then the persecution, of talented and completely honest people. The list of these "little cogs" in one and same mechanism can be greatly extended. But one must not forget that everywhere and always, even during those "cosy times/which now are almost epic/when tremendous periods of time/dragged into long staging areas for convicts", there were those who, having no fear of the inevitable retribution, rose up to defend the innocent people who had been slandered. And who at times, already aware of the entire uselessness of their actions, continued to persuade, prove, and protest.

And those persons included quite a few NKVD and GPU workers. History has preserved for us their names, that have been recorded for eternity in the "Black Book" of the Stalinist heritage.

The new generation of Soviet Chekists is made up of our contemporaries. People who did not live through the period of the "aggravation of the class struggle." But, nevertheless, one still hears almost imperceptibly, "You yourselves sowed it, and now you're reaping it."

Well, we ourselves did not sow it, and we ourselves are not reaping it. It is another situation when, possessing archives and experience in legal proceedings, these people currently are rendering invaluable assistance in returning the good names to honest people who, long ago and seemingly forever, had been crossed out of the lists.

[Pristayko coworkers] "After the enactment in early 1989 of the CPSU Central Committee resolution 'Additional Measures to Restore Justice With Respect to the Victims of the Repressions That Occurred in the 1930's, 1940's, and Early 1950's' and the 16 January 1989 Ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet that deals with the same question," I was told by coworkers of V. I. Pristayko—investigators Nikolay Koryagin, Vladimir Porodko, and Sergey Sirenko, "the case accelerated considerably. Essentially speaking, everything followed the old procedures in making those decisions: it was mandatory to have a judicial procedure for reviewing the materials pertaining to rehabilitation. But the notorious 'troikas' had carried out their reprisals right and left, practically without any court or investigation.

"But now the situation has changed radically. The only cases of rehabilitation that have to go through the court are legal cases, rather than the decisions made by all kinds of 'special meetings,' 'dvoikas,' or 'troikas.' At the present time the committee leadership have taken additional organizational measures, and the work in this direction is approaching completion."

[V. Pristayko] And as a result during the first quarter of 1989 we prepared for rehabilitation more than 4500 additional cases involving more than 6000 persons. That is more than during the entire year of 1988.

[A. Abdullin] Vladimir Ilich, the duties of your department probably include other tasks in addition to rehabilitation. I would like to know what else the KGB Investigation Department does.

[V. Pristayko] We do, of course, have other work, and to be perfectly frank about it, quite a bit of work. The jobs that are in the center of our attention are investigation and the prevention of crimes against the state. These include violations of the state border, espionage and acts of terrorism, and smuggling and currency manipulations on an especially large scale. A rather large share of our work is made up of cases involved former Nazi criminals, members of punitive expeditions, and other traitors to their Motherland.

I would like to direct attention to the fact that this is the third year that UkSSR KGB investigators (as was mentioned by Committee chairman N. M. Golushko in an interview in your magazine) have not arrested or brought to criminal responsibility in accordance with Article 62 of the USSR UK [Criminal Code]—for having engaged in anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda—a single person, which fact undoubtedly corresponds to the present political situation and is a real result of the policy of perestroika, democratization and glasnost.

At the same time, it must be noted that recently we have had to analyze from the legal point of view various printed materials that contain attacks against perestroika, that incite national enmity, that discredit the constitutional foundations of our society, and it would

seem that the people who participate in such actions ought to think seriously about their political and legal culture and about their responsibility to society and to their own conscience.

We have plenty of cases. But the department has only about two dozen associates, and the oblasts each have three or four, or at most five, of our investigators. It is often necessary for them to go on official assignments. Sometimes we do not see our coworkers for months at a time. But I would like to repeat once again: the rehabilitation of persons who became the victims of Stalinist lawlessness is at the present time one of our chief tasks.

[A. Abdullin] Our conversation had come to an end. But do not think that I did not have anything more to ask Vladimir Ilich. On the contrary, the conversation had given rise to a large number of questions. But it was simply awkward to abuse the time.

As I was leaving the Investigation Department of the UkSSR KGB, my gaze fell once again on the traces where a lock has been removed...

UkSSR MVD Reports Preliminary Findings of Bykovnya Investigation

*18001096b Kiev RABOCHAYA GAZETA in Russian
13 Apr 89 p 3*

[Article by A. Abdullin, RABOCHAYA GAZETA correspondent: "The Truth of the Bykovnya Forest"]

[Text] In the Sunday issue of RABOCHAYA GAZETA, in a report from the Investigation Department of UkSSR KGB, entitled "Behind a Door Without a Lock," G. K. Kovtun, deputy chairman of the republic's Committee for State Security, reported to our readers that the work of the Government Commission that was created to study the circumstances linked with the mass burials of Soviet citizens in Section 19 of the Dneprovsk Forest Area (settlement of Bykovnya), of the Darnitsa Timber Management, Kiev, is coming to an end.

At the republic's MVD, members of the Governmental Commission summed up the preliminary results of the work that has been done.

The investigating group of the republic's Procuracy, jointly with workers of the Committee for State Security, managed to establish that, during the summer of 1936, in the area of the settlement of Bykovnya, a wooden fence was erected to surround a territory with an area of approximately four hectares (investigators found in the archives the decision of the ispolkom of the Kiev City Soviet to set aside a plot of land to meet the special needs of UkSSR NKVD).

The guarding of the territory behind the "green fence" was carried out by armed people wearing plain clothes. After the beginning of the Great Patriotic War, the civilian clothing was replaced by the uniform of NKVD workers.

It was to this place, beginning in the spring of 1937 and up until the occupation of Kiev by the fascists, that the bodies of repressed persons who had been executed by firing squad were brought. According to the data provided by the inspection and the results of two previous commissions, the approximate number of the persons buried here is 6323.

In the course of the investigation and in the process of the reinterment of the remains, certain articles belonging to the executed persons were discovered; the articles still contained the first and last names of their owners. Thanks to the names written on personal articles, and also as a result of the study of the archival files on the persons who had been sentenced in 1936-1941, the investigators established the last names of several persons who had been sentenced in Kiev to death by firing squad after being accused of counterrevolutionary and acts of sabotage and terrorism. They include: V. A. Bryl, livestock specialist; E. M. Davydov-Braga, militia employee; N. G. Ivanovskiy, construction technician; N. S. Kostyanov, chief of the office of mechanization and motor transport; A. L. Mitselmakher, state security employee; V. M. Prokopovich, bookkeeper; A. Ye. Tvardovskiy-Rebrik, chief of the personnel sector, UkSSR Narkomfin [People's Commissariat of Finance]; F. Ya. Tkalnikov, military serviceman; Ya. P. Shelygin, militia employee; and V. M. Yakovenko, state security employee.

They all were "sentenced" without justification in a nonjudicial procedure and were executed by firing squad in 1937-1938 in Kiev. Subsequently those persons were rehabilitated. It is not yet possible to establish from the existing materials the names of the other persons who were buried. But the work of the investigation group has not been discontinued.

The complexity in the work of establishing the true events in the Bykovnya area also lay in the fact that in 1944 an Extraordinary State Commission to Investigate the Crimes of the German Fascist usurpers established that in the Darnitsa Forest, during the occupation period, more than 68,000 Soviet citizens were executed by firing squad. Those Soviet citizens were prisoners at two concentration camps situated on the territory of Darnitsa. And the remains of the people who were found in the Bykovnya Forest were assumed from the very beginning to be victims of the fascists.

However, the forensic studies pointed out the differences between the remains of the people who had been executed by the occupying forces and those Soviet citizens who had been repressed during the prewar period.

The file contains seven reports by criminologists and 250 minutes of witness interrogations. Sixty archival criminal files were studied and 15 reconstructions of the situation and circumstances surrounding the events were made.

I would like to direct the special attention of our readers to the fact that it is not yet possible to establish the names of the persons buried at Bykovnya (other than the ten persons named), since no documents concerning the place of the execution and burial of repressed individuals were discovered at Glavarkhiv [Main Administration of Archives], or the archives of KGB, MVD, or UkSSR Procuracy. Such entries were simply not made by NKVD workers. A study of the 1936-1941 files indicated that the documents contain only notations concerning the date of execution of the sentence.

At one of the sessions of the State Commission, the chairman of UkSSR KGB acquainted the commission members and journalists with the notations, which are the last document in the file of the repressed individuals. As can be seen from that notation, no indication was given concerning either the place where the sentence was executed, or the place of burial. The notation contains only the name of the populated place where the sentence was executed.

In the course of investigation, the republic's Procuracy and the employees of the UkSSR Committee for State Security and the investigation group performed a colossal amount of work that enabled the Governmental Commission to feel that there had actually been burials in the area of the Bykovnya settlement of repressed persons who had been sentenced in a nonjudicial procedure, and that the sentence with respect to those persons had been executed in Kiev.

The Governmental Commission made a recommendation to UkSSR Council of Ministers concerning the perpetuation of the memory of the victims of the 1936-1941 repressions who were buried in Section 19 of the Dneprovsk Forest Area of the Darnitsa Forest-Park Management of Kiev in the area of the settlement of Bykovnya.

The commission deemed it necessary to give UkSSR Ministry of Culture, UkSSR Gosstroy, and the Kiev City Ispolkom the responsibility, jointly with the UkSSR Architects Union and UkSSR Artists Union, to conduct an open competition for the designing of a monument and the landscaping of the place of burial, and the development of the necessary construction-planning documentation; and to give UkSSR Gosplan and UkSSR Gosstroy the responsibility of making recommendations concerning the organizing of the construction of the monument to the victims of the repressions. It has been deemed necessary to continue the investigation of the criminal case with the purpose of establishing the identity of the persons who have been reinterred and to locate any new burials in that area and witnesses to

them, and to search for archival documents and information pertaining to the events in the Bykovnya area. Materials concerning the persons who were rehabilitated are to be transferred to the Kiev City Commission that was created in conformity with the 16 January 1989 Ukase of the Presidium of USSR Supreme Soviet, entitled "Additional Measures to Restore Justice With Respect to the Victims of the Repressions That Occurred during the 1930's, 1940's, and Early 1950's," in order to render the necessary assistance to relatives of the victims of the repressions in carrying out their rights and legal interests.

The Governmental Commission has expressed its gratitude to the mass information media, public organizations, and individual citizens for the assistance that they rendered during the investigation of the circumstances linked with the mass burials of Soviet citizens. The commission has asked all citizens who know anything about the tragic events linked with the burials in Section 19 of the Dneprovsk Forest Area of the Darnitsa Forest-Park Management of Kiev to provide that information to the investigation group of UkSSR Procuracy.

Odessa Nationality Problems Require Party Coordination

18300614 Kiev *RABOCHAYA GAZETA* in Russian
6 Apr 89 p 2

[Article by R. Bodelan, secretary, Ukrainian CP Odessa Obkom: "Avoiding Extremes"]

[Text] An ethnographic map of Odessa Oblast is like a motley carpet the beginning of which dates back to the time when this territory was assimilated at the end of the 18th century. Economic development, trade ties with the entire country and the world have also had an effect on the region's nationality composition. During the Soviet period the processes of internationalization in the Odessa region were intensified. Half of the population is now composed of Ukrainians, more than one-fourth are Russians, followed by Bulgars—6.7 percent, Moldavians—5.7 percent, Jews—3.6 percent, Gagauzes—1.1 percent, and Belorussians—0.7 percent, etc. Moreover, the tearing down of national partitions is a characteristic feature. In our oblast one out of every three families is mixed, which is double the average All-Union indicator. It is natural that issues of inter-ethnic relations, the development of national cultures and languages have gone farther there, as the leading position in the practical work of the oblast-level party organization is occupied by these matters.

Increasing greater attention has been paid to these topics by the mass media. The oblast-level radio and television carry broadcasts in the Ukrainian, Russian, and Moldavian languages. In 1988 they organized a series of broadcasts about the festival of amateur national collectives, entitled the "Kobzar Cycle." Radio broadcasts have begun to be made in the Bulgar language in the

Artsizelskiy and Izmaylskiy rayons, where a considerable part of the population is still made up of Bulgars. In seven rayon-level newspapers of this oblasts pages are now being published in the languages of the national minorities.

The schools are introducing courses in the in-depth study of the national languages. Instruction of children in the Ukrainian language is being introduced in preschool institutions.

A number of national-cultural societies have begun to operate: the Society for the Study of the Ukrainian Language imeni T.G. Shevchenko and the Greek society known as Ellada. Preparations are underway to establish an analogous Jewish National-Cultural Society and others.

The role played by national, amateur, creative collectives is becoming more and more noticeable in the cultural life of the Odessa region. I particularly want to single out the Ukrainian, Bulgar, Moldavian, and Gagauz folklore ensembles—approximately 60 collectives.

Nowadays when we have occasion to read and hear about the activation of nationalistic elements, about the hypertrophied national feelings and claims of certain groups of the population in certain republics, one evaluates in a new light the depth and strength of the historic traditions of international unity which have evolved in our oblast. Nonetheless, we cannot forget that national relations are vital, developing relations, with their own problems and contradictions, even if they flow on without any particular external dramas. Let's recall the remark made at the 19th party conference to the effect that the task of practical policy and the party's ideological work on the nationality question is to avoid the following two extremes: national nihilism and, on the other hand, nationalism.

Here too we can be helped by the results of the sociological analysis which was conducted by the oblast-level newspaper entitled *ZNAMYA KOMMUNIZMA* on issues of social justice.

In one of the sections of the analysis, the one which indicates where social justice is infringed upon most of all, it is noted that this occurs most of all in the spheres of distribution and service (providing food products, industrial goods, housing, medical services), as well as in granting opportunities for rest and recreation, in wages, and job placement. Moreover, 14 percent of those polled link social infringements with nationality relations.

Accordingly, when we studied the work of the party organizations in Artsizelskiy Rayon with regard to the internationalist and patriotic education of working people, we conducted a small study on this problem. And it turned out that one-fourth of those polled had personally encountered or observed manifestations of nationalistic

prejudices, swaggering self-conceit, arrogant haughtiness, or a disrespect for national feelings. This result was unanticipated for the leadership of the party raykom; it was considered that such problems did not exist in the rayon.

At the party obkom we conducted interviews with newly elected secretaries of the party organizations at several enterprises, as well as those of scientific and planning organizations of the cities of Odessa and Ilichevsk. Everyone unanimously noted that inter-ethnic relations in their collectives were not causing any uneasiness. There were no frictions, and, consequently, no need to promulgate any sorts of special measures.

Most secretaries of the primary party organizations were not very clear in their understanding of what is included within the system of internationalist education. After all, in essence, any trend of ideological work is formed within the system: political education, oral and visual agitation, lecture-type propaganda, etc.

Unfortunately, such a systems approach is frequently lacking among practitioners. I suggested to one of the secretaries of the party organization of a large enterprise that he tell me about this work. What ensued was a standard exposition about the nationality composition of the collective, the elective organs, about meetings with foreign delegations, about good mutual relations among employees, and the lack of conflicts on national grounds. He could not tell me any more, and to a direct question as to whether his collective had a system for work on international education, he honestly admitted that they had no such thing. I had to explain to him that it does indeed exist but that the party bureau has not yet coordinated it. Within the system of political instruction were there any classes dealing with these topics? There were. Does the syllabus provide for lecture-type propaganda? Yes, and the lectures have already been delivered. Are unified political days held on this topic? Of course. Does the trade union organize excursions by employees to other republics? Regularly. Does the amateur-arts collective present programs of ethnic songs and dances in the enterprise's club? Yes. Does the enterprise's newspaper present items about these problems. They do publish some of this material but timidly and little of it.

All these instances attest to the fact that work on internationalist education and improving inter-ethnic relations in the primary party organizations is far from always linked together and coordinated. Party raykoms and gorkoms, as well as the obkom must assume their share of the responsibility for this. Until recently we have not been sufficiently interested in arranging the system of international work at the primary level.

One of the trends in party work pertaining to nationality relations is the placement and arrangement of personnel in labor collectives. Each of the latter is multi-national. For example, the the Production Association of the Odessa Agricultural Machine-Building Plant imeni

October Revolution employs 6,400 workers and office employees of 34 nationalities as follows: 64 percent are Ukrainians, 25 percent are Russians, and there are hundreds of Moldavians, Bulgars, Belorussians, and Jews. In the association one may meet employees from almost all the Union republics. Here one may also see Buryats, Kabardinians, Maris, Mordovians, Chuvash, Tatars, Gypsies, Udmurts, as well as Romanians, Poles, Germans, Greeks, etc.

But there are biases in the representation of nationalities on the rayon and oblast levels. Particularly among the administrative apparatus among the management personnel. For example, when the apparatus of the party obkom was reorganized, there was a striking absence of representation by several of the principal nationality groups in the oblast party organization.

We have not succeeded in finding a suitable indicator for the necessary working people. But if we were to pose the question of whether each nationality group of the oblast's population capable of providing a proportional personnel representation within the administrative unit, the answer would probably be: no. This would be the case if only because the difference in the educational level between them is strikingly great. Per thousand employees with higher education the breakdown of absolute figures is as follows: Ukrainians—85, Russians—194, Belorussians—248, Jews—363, Bulgars—40, Moldavians—23, Gagauzes—21. The reasons for these disproportions lie in the distribution by social-class criteria and by place of residence.

Yet another very important question of inter-ethnic relations has to do with enterprises' ties between republics. For example, the modest-sized Machine-Building Plant imeni Kirov obtains sets of parts, electronic and hydraulic equipment, etc. from 11 union and autonomous republics and ships its products to all the union republics and abroad. When conflicts on nationality grounds led to prolonged work stoppages in Armenia and Azerbaijan, this plant did not receive sets of items on time, and, as a result of this, its own deliveries were disrupted. It would seem that this would be an occasion for inter-ethnic alienation. But when the natural disaster occurred in Armenia, the plant collective responded to the call for aid to those who suffered from the earthquake. In money alone, more than 25,000 rubles were contributed. And the working people of the oblast as a whole contributed more than 10 million rubles, and they sent by way of aid 400,000 rubles worth of industrial goods and foodstuffs.

Odessa accepted hundreds of persons who had suffered from the earthquake. More than 300 Armenian children are resting and studying at Krasnyye zori—one of our largest rest homes. Their teachers recently addressed a request to us which deeply moved us. We can never

thank the people of the Ukraine enough for their warmth and care, they said, but we would like your trained teachers to help our children learn the Ukrainian language while they are here.

While examining the questions of inter-ethnic relations in a multi-faceted manner, it is impossible to pass over in silence the topic of nationalistic danger. In particular, for many years Odessa has been an object of distorted Zionist propaganda from abroad. They have not succeeded in inciting Zionist or Anti-Semitic passions, but the growth of emigrationist attitudes has been facilitated, to a considerable degree, by this propaganda. And no matter how we may regard the emigrants, the negative consequences of this process are noticeable. Although without the extreme of Anti-Semitism, the feeling of national distrust has become quite widespread. Not to mention the economic damage, the physical erosion of an entire national group is taking place because, after all, it is not just dozens or hundreds of persons who have emigrated, but many thousands.

To be seen in this phenomenon are the serious moral consequences of the heritage of stagnation, when patriotic education was reduced to clumsy measures or resonant phrases and, in any case, were not linked with inculcating people with a sense of Soviet national pride. There is also a strictly party problem here. Because, after all, Jewish Communists constitute a significant portion of the Odessa party organization. However, they do not play a sufficiently active role in participating in political actions to expose bourgeois nationalism.

In this work we must also take into account the outbreaks of Ukrainian nationalism which have taken place. There are also thistles which come attached to the wheatfield of national-cultural societies. They have not succeeded in organizing and unleashing the kinds of activity to which they had intended to incite people, declaring that there was nothing which would deflect them from arranging holidays, evenings of national culture, work with schoolchildren, on training students to narrate Ukrainian folk-tales in kindergartens, etc. All this, they say, comprises petty matters. The calls to transform national-cultural societies into political structures, to make them into the foundation of a nationalistic front, proceed, as a rule, from persons who have not succeeded in putting their hands to any specific work.

But certain citizens of our republic have switched from calls to practical actions; they are attempting to create a "new organization"—the People's Movement of the Ukraine. It cannot be denied that it is a good name, and the draft program of this organization contains some fine words. At present there has already been a great deal said and written about the political essence of the NDU [People's Movement of the Ukraine], including that what is envisioned here is an attempt to isolate the Ukraine from the other fraternal republics. But I would like to ask the authors of this document the following

question: Do they understand that, instead of constructive work on restructuring all spheres of Soviet society, they are dragging us into unnecessary discussions and thereby inflicting harm on perestroika? If they do understand, then we can draw only one conclusion—that this suits them. But this does not yet suit the oblast's working people, nor, most likely, those of the entire republic, for they are decisively rejecting such proposals and are condemning them.

Such zealots of the "nationalist cause" can only discredit and distort the work begun by enthusiasts with regard to reviving the national culture and the growth of people's healthy national self-awareness. That is why it is so important for Communists to play the most active part in the activity of the national-cultural societies and for these societies to be able to obtain genuine support from the party committees.

We must now jointly measure our own achievements in the economy and culture not merely in accordance with past levels attained, but also by the achievements of the fraternal republics. Good-neighborly relations have evolved in our area with the working people and the party organizations of fraternal Moldavia. Many enterprises and enterprises and kolkhozes in this oblast closely cooperate with their Moldavian colleagues. Thus, for example, for more than two decades now a creative cooperation and competition have continued between two garment factories—the Odessa Factory and the Tiraspol Factory imeni 40th Anniversary of the Komsomol. Exchanges of specialists and production consultations are conducted almost every month. Thousands of working people and their children are treated and rest at the Moldova Sanatorium and other sanatoriums, boarding-houses, and rest and recreation camps in Odessa Oblast. At the Moldavian institutes staffs of teachers and other specialists are trained for the oblast's many schools. Exchanges of concert brigades and touring theaters have become a steady thing.

And, nevertheless, there are still people who compare their own life with the living standards of their neighbors and find it not to be in our favor, although, in my opinion, we all have something to brag about quite vigorously. Nevertheless, we must consider this gap in our economic and social life and link it with the independence and originality of the Moldavian people's development. But, of course, we cannot share the views of certain citizens of the Moldavian SSR, who are attempting to inflame artificial passions around this issue.

Manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism, Zionism, Anti-Semitism are inadmissible in a socialist society, no matter where they may have sprung from. Any claims to national exclusiveness are insulting for all peoples, including the one in whose name they are stated. Comprising our guidelines in this work are the Leninist words about the need to struggle, most of all, against our own nationalism.

The growth of national self-awareness is breaking down the old forms and methods of ideological work and demanding creative work and something out of the ordinary in our approaches. The decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the Ukrainian CP Central Committee concerning the strengthening of internationalist and patriotic education of Soviet people, the preparations being made for the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, devoted to inter-ethnic relations are directing us to unwavering attention to inculcating in Communists a thrifty attitude toward nationality problems, as well as not to forget about a fundamentally internationalist approach.

**ArSSR: Earthquake Damage, Later Accident
Hamper Razdan GRES**

18300433a Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian
7 Feb 89 p 1

[Interview with Razdan GRES Director Germes Rubenovich Santuryan, by Staff Correspondent A. Yegiazaryan under the "Mapping the Main Construction Projects" rubric: "Current from Razdan"]

[Text] Thus far not many of us—except for specialists—have given much thought to just how a normal flow of electric power will be supplied to the republic in the future, when there is already a significant shortfall in electrical power in the Transcaucasus area. At the same time, this is one of the most important national economic tasks of the coming years. N.I. Ryzhkov, in his speech at a gathering of the republic party and economic aktiv, noted that with the stoppage of the AES [atomic power plant], "the power shortfall will amount to more than 300,000 KW in March; and by the end of the year, taking into account the increasing demand for electric power, it will amount to 700,000 KW." You will agree that for our small republic, such a deficit is enormous.

Of course, a number of specific, effective measures have been outlined to ensure that new energy capacities and power grid projects are put into operation, but that will take time—and quite a lot of time at that. And for the time being the major portion of the workload will fall on the Razdan GRES [State Regional Power Plant]. Thus, the uninterrupted operation of this GRES today is becoming especially important to the republic's economy. However, it too was not spared by the December earthquake—and unfortunately, with the most serious consequences.

The underground shocks damaged not only the administrative and production buildings of the GRES, but also the aerial switch and breaker devices. In order to get an impression of the dimensions of the damage to the equipment, it is sufficient to note that of the power station's total capacity of 1,100,000 KW, only 100,000 KW remained in operation. Mobilizing forces to the utmost has permitted all services of the GRES to partially eliminate the consequences of the earthquake in the shortest possible time. As early as 5:00 AM on 8

December, power units number one and two, with a capacity of 200,000 KW each, and turbine number four with 100,000 KW, were put into operation. Restoration work continued at the same pace, and the 4th unit was connected to the grid on 18 December. It seemed as if they could heave a sigh of relief.

But, on 2 January at 8:45 AM, a fire broke out in the 4th unit, and an explosion occurred.

"All the pre-start-up tests on the 4th power unit were successful," relates Germes Santuryan, director of the Razdan GRES. "But 16 days after it was connected to the grid, there was an explosion. As it turned out later, inside the transformer, the fixed position was broken, which led to the weakening of the insulation and the contact system of the switch under a load. I would like to point out that during the pre-start-up testing, it was impossible to observe such a break in the transformer. After the transformer was turned on, a short circuit caused a fire to break out, which caused a storm of hydrogen to be generated, which completely filled the housing for the cubicle switch gear and thermal resistor exciter. The powerful explosion took out the transformer for our own needs, and literally blew to pieces 1,500 square meters of wall panels in the production building. Fortunately there were no casualties. I would like to pay special tribute to the precise actions of Zh. Yegoryan's brigade of electricians, S. Aybazyan's DIS watch team, and G. Petrosyan's team in the module unit. They reacted properly to the critical situation which occurred, and made the only possible decisions.

"Power units three and four were immediately disconnected. Round-the-clock operations were organized to eliminate the effects of the accident. Among the first to rush assistance were the builders of the Razdan GRES Power Complex and the Razdanstroy Trust. In literally hours, they had restored the wall panels, since the freezing weather was threatening another disaster. In those days, no one slept more than three hours a day. The third power unit had already been connected to the grid on the eve of January the third. And the fourth power unit, which was to have been connected to the grid on 25 January, began to operate a whole week prior to the date defined by a commission from Minenergo [USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification].

"No one believed that such a thing was possible," Santuryan continues. "But we were still faced with accomplishing a huge volume of work. After all, the destructive consequences of the earthquake at our GRES alone amounted to about 13-15 million rubles, and it was necessary to eliminate them by the middle of November [sic]."

[Correspondent] Germes Rubenovich, in connection with the stoppage of the Armenian AES, an additional workload will probably be laid on the Razdan GRES. Are you prepared for this?

[Santuryan] In principle, yes. Our top priority task was to ensure that the available capacities operate reliably. In addition, a plan has already been prepared for expanding the Razdan GRES. In accordance with this project, the first 300 megawatt power unit is to be put into operation in the fourth quarter of 1990. Between 1991 and 1993 we must complete introduction of another three power units, once again with a capacity of 300 megawatts each. The project also stipulates all measures for preserving the ecological purity of the environment.

[Correspondent] Has some of the work on expanding the GRES already been completed?

[Santuryan] Yes. Earth work and construction work amounting to six million rubles has been completed. However, this work has been temporarily halted, since the project is being modified to meet seismic requirements. However, this delay will more than likely not have an effect on the final deadline for expanding the GRES.

The measures undertaken by the government for converting the AES into a thermal electric power plant, the expansion of the Razdan GRES, and the re-equipping of the existing power generating capacities excludes the possibility of an energy crisis in the republic. Hundreds of millions of rubles have been allocated for these purposes. But in this important cause, we will not be able to get along without taking specific measures for additional economies in electric power for national-economic and municipal-domestic needs. As it was noted at the gathering of the republic party-economic aktiv, it must be brought to the attention of each citizen of the republic, that economizing on electrical power today is our common national task.

Official on Post-Earthquake Reconstruction of Armenian Light Industry

18300433b Yerevan KOMMUNIST, in Russian
26 Jan 89 p 1

[Interview with Armenian SSR Light Industry Deputy Minister L. Yegiazaryan by correspondent M. Grigoryan: "From the Position of the Future"]

[Text] Twenty-one out of 49 major associations of the republic's Light Industry Ministry—101 production units—were located in the disaster zone. Their share of the production volume of goods manufactured in Armenia amounted to 40 percent. In retail prices this amounts to nearly a billion rubles. Of these 100-odd enterprises, 40 were totally destroyed, 20 suffered significant damage, and 37 require restoration work.

And just what is the fate of the light-industry enterprises in the disaster zone; and how will the gap that has formed in the domestic and foreign market be plugged? We asked L. Yegiazaryan, Armenian USSR first deputy minister of light industry, to respond to these and other questions.

"Since the first days following the earthquake, a staff and an organizational commission had been established in Minlegprom [Light Industry Ministry]," relates Leonid Georgievich. USSR Light Industry Minister V.K. Klyuyev, his deputy I.G. Gritsenko and a group of specialists came from Moscow. Together with our commission they set out for the disaster zone. Expert analysis was carried out on all objectives. By 20 December we had a complete picture of the condition of the light industry enterprises in the disaster zone.

[Grigoryan] Undoubtedly your first priority concern was for the people...

[Yegiazaryan] At the moment of the catastrophe, nearly 21,600 people were at work, 1,700 of whom perished. As soon as the possibility presented itself, we began to move our fellow-workers and their families. We put them up in boarding houses, with the families of other light industry workers, and at the ministry itself—anywhere possible. We organized material assistance. At the present time the majority of those evacuated have received work at our enterprises, and have been supplied with everything necessary. I would also add that since the very first days the union-level ministries have been providing us an enormous amount of aid—that includes both equipment and transportation, material support and specialists.

[Grigoryan] But what is the situation at light-industry enterprises today?

[Yegiazaryan] There was hardly one single industry of the 101 production units that had not been damaged to one degree or another. Part of them require restoration work, another major repairs; and well, the 40 that were totally destroyed we will be building anew.

A week after the disaster, those enterprises which could begin operating again were already supplied with electric power and heat. At the present time there are factories which are operating and are producing; for example, the Maralik cotton-spinning factory, four factories of the Kirovokan garment association, and a branch of the Leninakan stockings and hosiery factory in Aygabats. Ten factories of the Gugarskiy garment association were completely destroyed; of the remaining nine, which were damaged, six are in operation. The Artik textile-garment factory and the Pemzashen garment factory are functioning. And a number of other enterprises are getting ready to start up in the near future.

[Grigoryan] Do restoration projects already exist, and have their time-tables been set?

[Yegiazaryan] In 1989 we plan to start up 57 enterprises, which will produce a total output worth nearly 340 million rubles in retail prices. But complete restoration and construction work will be completed by 1991. Ten enterprises will be restored under contract by construction workers from neighboring republics. We have a proposal from Sovyugstroy, the joint Soviet-Yugoslavian

construction organization, to build four enterprises. The remainder we will erect ourselves, with the help of USSR Minlegprom. I would like to mention that all the enterprises will be fitted out with the very latest technology and equipment.

[Grigoryan] The volume of production produced by light industry enterprises in the northern part of the republic amounted to 40 percent of the republic's total. How will this large gap in the domestic and national market be filled?

[Yegiazaryan] Today I can say that this loss is hardly felt at all in the republic market. You see, only 20 percent of the total amount of products from Minlegprom remains in Armenia. We have expanded the capacity of existing enterprises in Yerevan, Kirovokan and other regions. But it is precisely by virtue of introducing reserves that the gap will be filled. For example, the school uniforms which each republic supplies for itself, will be produced in Armenia by the Leninakan enterprises. Production has already been organized at the Garun Garment Association in Yerevan and at the Kirovokan Garment Association. You can be sure that by September the demand for school uniforms will be completely satisfied. The same is true for the footwear enterprises.

We have experienced great difficulties with raw materials. The Cotton Association imeni May Uprising and the weaving factory in Leninakan were completely destroyed; and these were the main suppliers of raw material in the republic. Therefore, for the time being we will be importing raw materials from various regions of the country.

[Grigoryan] The restoration of enterprises and associations—these are not only material values. For many thousands of people—this means it is possible to return to their own work, and thus to a normal life; to organize their way of life, destroyed by the awful disaster. And in the final analysis—this means the possibility to continue to live on their native land...

[Yegiazaryan] At the present time, 15,000 employees of the republic Minlegprom system are living and working in the disaster zone. There would be more if it were not for the housing problem. This I believe is the only thing we are unable to provide to our workers ourselves. Therefore I would like to use the newspaper to make the following request: help us with temporary housing. After all, a great many people want to return to live and work in their native areas, but do not have the opportunity to do so.

Armenian Internal Affairs Minister Disputes Article on Refugee Situation

18300587a Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
6 Apr 89 p 2

[Interview with Armenian SSR Minister of Internal Affairs Major General U. S. Arutyunyan by Armenpress correspondent S. Garibyan: "A Puzzled Reader: Concerning an Interview in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] On 15 March of this year the newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA published an interview with V.

I. Ilyukhin, first deputy chief of the Main Investigative Administration of the USSR Procuracy, by its correspondent A. Mursaliyev, "An Extraordinary Business Trip," under the rubric "An Important Interview." [For a translation of this article see pages 52-54 of the FBIS series DAILY REPORT: SOVIET UNION, FBIS-SOV-89-055, dated 23 March 1989.] The reader probably remembers that it basically discussed introduction of a special form of administration into the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, the refugee problem and the operational situation in the region.

On receiving the issue of the newspaper carrying this article, many readers in Armenia were puzzled. Citizens began querying party, soviet and law enforcement organs, the editor's offices of republic newspapers and Armenpress: How were they to take some of the basic premises of the interview, why was objectivity not observed in assessing and chronicling the events, and was it suitable at all to publish such an article in a time when the operational situation in Armenia had stabilized? Wouldn't the interview in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA do a disservice to the common cause by heating up passions even more? It is no secret, after all, that today, in a time of glasnost and democratization of society, the people demand total objectivity and truth from the mass media, and they react keenly to all inaccuracies and distortions. This was a particular topic of discussion at a meeting of the collective of the History Institute of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences, where the article was subjected to biting criticism.

How accurate are the facts presented in the interview pertaining to the situation in Armenia, and what is being done to intensify the fight against negative phenomena? Major General U. S. Arutyunyan, the republic's minister of internal affairs, answers these questions, posed by Armenpress correspondent S. Garibyan.

[Arutyunyan] Yes, the readers are right. A number of the statements in the interview can in fact be debated, and disagreed with.

Some facts are inaccurate and, moreover, unsettling. Here is an example: "Today there are more than 150,000 Armenian refugees in Azerbaijan. Attention to them is insufficient. **And the atmosphere is explosive, and the consequences may be unpredictable, much graver than they were in Sumgait a year ago....**" If we follow the article's logic, then the author has sufficient grounds to assert that there might be a recurrence of Sumgait with more-tragic consequences.

It is hard for me to judge the true state of affairs in the Azerbaijan SSR. But if this statement is accurate, then it would hardly have been right to limit the discussion just to this assertion and to the mention of "special groups." It would have been more suitable to acquaint the wide range of readers in greater detail with the specific measures I know they are implementing in Azerbaijan to stabilize the situation.

[Garibyan] It is also said in the interview that "under the threat of reprisals, people are often not allowed into their own towns, into homes which they already occupy...." How accurate is this assertion?

[Arutyunyan] It must be said that it is devoid of any grounds. According to information from the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs, no facts of any violence, pressure and threat of reprisals in relation to persons of Azerbaijani nationality who returned this year to Armenia, to their place of permanent residence, have been recorded. Only in Noyemberyanskiy Rayon did we encounter the problem of evicting Azerbaijani emigrants from homes illegally occupied by them. The difficulty is that the homes of the latter in Azerbaijan have also been illegally occupied by emigrants from Armenia. A joint commission headed by deputy chairmen of the councils of ministers of both republics was created to search for constructive solutions to this problem.

At the same time, publication of such statements in a time when the efforts of both republics are directed at fulfilling party and state decrees on voluntary return of people to their native hearths elicits a certain amount of perplexity.

[Garibyan] And what can you say, Comrade Minister, about the "armed groups on the roads of Armenia and illegal storage of large quantities of weapons"? Is this accurate, or is it a distortion of the truth?

[Arutyunyan] Had the interview "Extraordinary Business Trip" been published in November of last year, I would not refute it. With a few qualifications, it would be accurate. No secret was made of this, and the measures we implemented were promptly communicated in the republic's press.

The picture changed noticeably in early December 1988. Since that time neither armed groups nor armed individuals have been sighted on the highways and byways of Armenia. Crimes, incidents and other antisocial manifestations involving the use of arms have not been recorded.

In regard to the statements of the author of the interview that large quantities of weapons are being stored illegally in our republic, I would like to declare in all responsibility that we possess no such information. And if we ever do receive such information, you need not doubt that the militia will immediately react to it, and that the culprits will be punished in accordance with the law.

[Garibyan] And how do you feel about the proposal to introduce military and commandant services into Armenian territory and into large Azerbaijani towns with the right to resolve all issues of economic and administrative life?

[Arutyunyan] Extremely negatively. Here is why. As we know, a curfew was imposed in late November of last year in the republic's capital and in 16 cities and rayons. Interacting closely with internal affairs and other law enforcement organs, under the guidance of party and soviet organizations and with the active support of the public, servicemen are rather successfully implementing measures to preserve the rule of law and to dependably protect the constitutional rights of citizens. As a result the need for police control was reduced and the operational situation was stabilized both in Azerbaijani towns and in other population centers of the republic. Incidentally, reports from the commandant of the special region, which are regularly published in the press, indicate this as well.

Armenpress Apologizes for Misleading Article on Infant Deaths

18300587b Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
29 Apr 89 p 4

[Article by Armenpress special correspondent Dz. Balagezyan: "Secrets of a Maternity Hospital"; for additional information on this subject, see pages 44-47 of the FBIS series DAILY REPORT: SOVIET UNION, FBIS-SOV-89-091, dated 12 May 1989]

[Text] Referring to competent sources is the universally accepted way of obtaining truthful information. When in the middle of March of this year the public of Yerevan was alarmed by news of increased infant mortality in the Scientific Research Institute of Obstetrics and Gynecology imeni N. K. Krupskaya, an Armenpress correspondent asked Armenian SSR Minister of Health E. S. Gabrielyan to comment on the concern of the people and to clear things up: Were these groundless rumors, or an unfortunate reality?

E. S. Gabrielyan recommended speaking with the institute's leadership on this topic. By doing so he confirmed that both the ministry and the institute's leadership had the same position on this account. To me, it made no difference who would provide the definitive response. The main thing was that it had to come from competent persons. And conscientious ones, of course.

In the interview which he gave to an Armenpress correspondent, G. G. Okoyev, director of the Scientific Research Institute of Obstetrics and Gynecology imeni N. K. Krupskaya of the republic's Ministry of Health, admitted that some newborn infants had recently died. He recalled that the institute was not simply a maternity hospital, but a scientific research institution, which as a rule admits women in childbirth suffering extreme pathology carrying a heightened risk that the children would not survive. He went on to say that the situation was aggravated even more by the fact that some of the mothers had suffered viral influenza, which could not but have an effect on the viability of the fetus. This is

why the institute's average statistics had become somewhat worse. But there were no grounds for serious alarm on the part of the public, he assured.

The inaccuracy of such categorical statements was revealed soon after, when it became known that the institute director had deliberately distorted the real situation that had evolved in this scientific and therapeutic institution this year, and especially in March, when in the course of the first two weeks of the month 13 children died here one after the other. The Armenpress communication essentially became nothing other than disinformation. With its help the institute's leadership attempted to shape false public opinion concerning the institute's higher child mortality.

The author of the article and Armenpress regret that they had become the unwitting participants of disinformation, and extend their apology to their tens of thousands of readers. At the same time they cannot conceal their amazement concerning the fact that the minister of health, who was himself reasonably well informed about the true state of affairs in the institution subordinated to him, recommended to the journalist, as the subject of an interview, a person interested in concealing the truth from the public. And this was at the moment when he himself had signed an order appointing a special commission to investigate two of the deaths, though it is uncertain why just two, and not the 13 that had successfully occurred among newborn infants by that time.

So, what really happened in the Scientific Research Institute of Obstetrics and Gynecology? This question was examined by the board of the republic's Ministry of Health last week on instructions from the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee with the participation of officials of the Armenian SSR Procuracy. The materials of an integrated inspection organized by specialists of the republic and of the USSR Ministry of Health were discussed.

And so, 13 infants died here in the first half of March. That was followed by the death of another 5 out of 16 children transferred out of here to other clinical hospitals for further treatment. And since the beginning of the year, 25 children born in the institute's maternity ward died. Such a mortality rate is too high, if not catastrophic.

When a child dies, it is always an extraordinary incident, one requiring the most meticulous professional investigation. When a second, a third and then a fourth die after that, when this terrible statistic grows relentlessly and the count reaches up into the dozens (and this is in a specialized scientific institution enjoying authority in the country, one of two of the World Health Organization's centers for protection of the health of the mother and child in the USSR), it is time to ring all of the bells, raise the entire medical community to its feet and try to determine what went wrong, and find where the invisible enemy who is carrying away the children is hiding.

Who should have done this? The institute director, first of all. The rayon, city and republic sanitary and epidemiological stations, the Ministry of Health as represented by its minister, and almost all of his deputies, as well as his corresponding administrations. But no one intervened in time. Because until things became critical either no one knew what was going on, or they created the appearance that they were uninformed about the human drama unfolding behind the institute's walls.

The chief physician of Spandaryanskiy Rayon's sanitary and epidemiological station honestly admitted that he learned about the group infection of the children entirely by chance, after the institute had already been shut down. Possessing limited possibilities for conducting various special examinations, the rayon station accumulated many just reproaches. At the same time, both the city and republic services, which were significantly better furnished with laboratory equipment for a broad spectrum of tests, deserve reproaches of at least equal magnitude. However, the executives of these institutions got away with nothing more than a mild scare. And no one placed their professional competency and official conscientiousness in doubt. And yet, of all people it was they, and chiefly the republic's sanitary and epidemiological station, which monitors the activities of not all that many facilities of this sort, who cast into total oblivion this children's institution, which should have been in the center of the highest attention. Had they worked just a little bit better, the infection might have been identified in time, and had they done this just a few weeks sooner, half of the children might have been saved—such is the opinion of specialists. However, out of dozens of officials who receive wages precisely for the purpose of detecting an infection danger in time, not one was able to detect it. Even after children began dying from it. One right after the other. Even after anxious rumors about this began circulating through the city. What were the rayon, city and republic sanitary and epidemiological services doing? Where were all of the officials and others who have a part in ensuring the epidemiological welfare of the republic, especially now that we are all living in the conditions of a higher infection danger? How could it have come about that a group infection went unnoticed, and people were unaware of the resulting group death of children? Could it be that they knew, and remained silent? Or could it be that they simply feared losing their comfortable chairs, in which it is very prestigious to sit? In any case such inertia is deeply immoral from a humanitarian standpoint, if not criminal. And because of this criminal, well, all right, let's call it negligence, infants had to pay with their lives before they even got off the ground.

When it was found to be impossible to deal with the misfortune in the proper way, a decision was made to go to an extreme—to close the institute, falsely telling the public that it was being closed only for routine, planned preventive maintenance.

It would be wrong for readers to gain the impression that some sort of disrespectful people who might almost be

called murderers in white smocks had gathered together in the institute. No, and once again no: These were top-class specialists, and it was they who raised this institution to international recognition of its services in protection of the health of the mother and child. The chief culprit of the drama that played itself out here in the first days of March was the carelessness and callous indifference of all workers without exception. Each of them could have stated publicly what was being whispered in the lobbies, and what the authorities tried to conceal from the public.

The republic's procuracy became aware of the secret mission of G. G. Okoyev's son to the All-Union Scientific Research Center for Protection of the Health of the Mother and Child, from which he was to bring materials acquired in not the most noble fashion. This was another of the ways of "writing off" the child mortality, along with attempts to blame it on pathology accompanying pregnancy, on uterine infection, on extreme conditions brought about by the earthquake or on the effects of the shock which the population of our republic is unfortunately still suffering today.

I will not debate the issue. Without a doubt, all of these factors did have a certain effect on the condition of pregnant women and on the viability of the fetus. Moreover in the opinion of members of the commission, "47 percent of the 13 children that died were premature, and they were in the highest mortality risk group." However, there was another idea that was suggested in addition to this: "At least five or six such children should not have died." And if we consider that even extremely premature children are being saved today in maternity hospitals, mortality among them could have been significantly lower.

"Uterine infection" occupies a special place in the arsenal of excuses. Like a magic wand, it was to remove responsibility from the institute's collective. This was an immoral tactic at least because reference to "uterine infection" casts a shadow upon the mothers themselves, who suffered doubly—not only did they lose their children, but they also heard many bitter reproaches from their not too enlightened relatives concerning their alleged insufficiency as women. It seems to me that we shouldn't have to remind ourselves, and physicians especially, how immoral all of this is.

Pathological and anatomical investigation established that most of the infants were infected by various disease agents that thrive in weakened or premature children.

Had there been a possibility for tracing the path of the infection which led to group affliction of the children? Doubtlessly, specialists believe. And although it is clear even to a nonspecialist that if the routine, normal rhythm of a maternity institution is interrupted by a death, and especially by several deaths, the cause of the misfortunes should be sought in infection. It was not until later, after the commission began its work, and

when epidemiologists came to the institute on its invitation, that the chief culprit of the tragedy was found. And outrageous though this may sound, it was found on the operating table, in the maternity ward, in the room in which premature children are maintained, on pacifiers, oxygen masks and tracheal tubes, on children's beds, and even on a bactericidal lamp. It would be much easier of course to blame the mothers who had been stricken with viral influenza than to admit to the low sanitary level of the medical institution.

Mothers-to-be tell of cockroaches poking about in the bedside tables and a mousetrap beneath the operating table. The commission members established that one of the institute's leading specialists having access to newborn infants is a persistent bacillus carrier. Need we be surprised that this was microbial heaven for the entire variety of disease agents such as *Bacillus pyocyaneus*, *Proteus*, *Klebsiella*, *Staphylococcus aureus* and adenovirus, from which the children died.

What happened here was not an accident. It was something that invariably had to happen, because the attitude of the people toward their responsibilities became something different from what it was before. It was as if they had become tired, and their sense of reality was dulled. In such cases the individual allows himself to relax, and to violate the requirements of official instructions, which he begins to perceive as bureaucratic excesses. The process of such job-related tiring of some people in the institute's collective was apparently ignored by comrades from the Ministry of Health, who laid their hopes "on their rich experience." It was the loss of the capacity to view problems realistically, and of a sense of measure, that let them down. What was chief surgeon L. Israyelyan thinking about when each day one child's life was carried away before her eyes in the first days of March? She is the first among the specialists, responsible for organizing the therapeutic process.

"Was an attempt made to analyze the causes of child mortality?" the minister asked. And in response: "We thought that we were dealing with uterine infection." As if a qualitative description of the infection changes the essence of the problem. Is it right for a chief surgeon to offer such answers, incompetent in form and helpless in essence?

I will not go into the specific issues, such as those of treating sick children. The commission shed light in this area as well: Such treatment was not always carried out competently and in the best manner. Sometimes they only went through the motions.

There is one other problem that the board of directors reacted to as if surprised: failure to meet sanitation requirements in the institute building. Yes, the institute, its laboratories and other services are crowded. And not without detriment to the patients. Consequently, could it really be that they learned of this only now, that they learned of this and reproached the institute's leadership

that "it could reduce the number of beds by half"? And solve the crowding problem in this way? They could have, of course. This would obviously have required some adjustment in the personnel roster. But this is not always within the power of the director, even as energetic a one as G. G. Okoyev. Consequently, how was it that the eyes of the ministry were opened so late, not until it became necessary to seek someone to blame for what happened?

Institute director G. G. Okoyev was dismissed from his post by a decision of the board. Many leading associates were demoted as well. Service directors of the Ministry of Health and the principal specialists received disciplinary punishments. I will not take issue with the board's decision. I think that it could have been more principled. Why have doubts arisen concerning the absence of deep principle in the matter? At least because one other extraordinary incident occurred literally last week in Yerevan's Maternity Hospital No 4, where three infants died because here as well stupid bungling was committed in work with living people—a lethal dose of medicine was infused into infants. Does the case that was investigated by the board not have something in common with what happened in Maternity Hospital No 4? Is this a coincidence, or is it something systematic? Deeper and more serious discussion is required.

In view of the unique features of maternity hospitals, their activities have always remained "behind seven seals." And that is no accident: Here, far from the eyes of the curious, each day a great mystery occurs—the birth of life. And unfortunately, death occurs as well. Glasnost is not a very convenient thing for such an institution. This is why it is sometimes easy to hide its sins from the curious. The author has two grounds for such a statement: The son of a person close to him was among the infants that died. In response to the persistent phone calls, the doctors explained that the child's lungs had not been fully developed. Let's wait, he said. We waited. The child died on the fifth day. It was communicated to the parents that it never did adapt itself to its premature birth, and later on, the commission established the following: "Died due to generalized staphylococcal infection coupled with abscessed pneumonia."

Investigation Reveals Irregularities at Uzbek Nuclear Physics Institute

People's Control Committee Conclusions
18300588 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
1 Apr 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "A Strict Assessment"]

[Text] The results of an inspection into some problems of the scientific activity of the Nuclear Physics Institute of the republic's Academy of Sciences, and of compliance with staffing and financial discipline and preservation of socialist property, were discussed in March at a meeting of the Uzbek SSR People's Control Committee.

Because of lack of supervision on the part of institute director M. S. Yunusov, a number of executives artificially inflated the estimated cost of contracted jobs, and often carried out projects in the absence of technical assignments. Redundancy of budgeted and contracted scientific research was allowed. Gross violations were committed by the scientific council, and the training level of graduate students was found to be extremely low. Adequate control was not maintained in the institute over the use and storage of scientific laboratory and production equipment. Executives violated the procedures for distributing economic stimulation funds, and serious violations of staffing discipline were revealed.

The people's control group at the institute (K. Azimov) was not doing its work. It was not making inspections of financial and economic activities.

In a decision adopted on the basis of the discussion, the Uzbek SSR People's Control Committee turned the attention of O. V. Lebedev, vice president of the republic's Academy of Sciences, and M. S. Saidov, academician-secretary of the division of physicomathematical sciences, to their lack of adequate control over the scientific, financial and economic activities of the Nuclear Physics Institute.

The explanations and positions of M. S. Yunusov, director of the Nuclear Physics Institute, concerning elimination of the revealed shortcomings were recognized as being unsubstantiated. The Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences (M. S. Salakhitdinov, president) was instructed to examine the question as to whether the director was competent to occupy his position, to strengthen the institute's leadership with qualified personnel, and to conduct a documentary audit of the use of assets allocated for overhaul of the institute's facilities in 1985- 1988.

For the shortcomings, institute assistant director A. A. Kist was given a strict reprimand, and former assistant director M. M. Usmanova was censured. Fines and deductions for unauthorized expenditures were imposed on the institute's chief bookkeeper A. S. Minin, the reactor chief engineer T. B. Ashrapov, and M. N. Abdukayumov, the director of the Radiopreparat cost-accounting experimental enterprise.

Materials on the inspection results were sent to the USSR Academy of Sciences, where former Nuclear Physics Institute director P. K. Khabibullayev is now working.

The republic's People's Control Committee decided to return to the issue of correcting the noted deficiencies in the Nuclear Physics Institute of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences in March 1990.

Charges Detailed

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[Unattributed report: "A Heavy Burden of Mistakes and Miscalculations"]

[Text] The Nuclear Physics Institute of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences is one of the best known in the republic. And the collective can rightfully be proud of many of its workers and its fundamental research. But perhaps because the sphere of the scientific research is somewhat unusual, or because the institute's former leadership was able to artfully conceal failures and mistakes by filling the center stage with any successes, even the most minor, a burden of miscalculations had accumulated more and more at the institute. And at a certain moment in time there set in a unique kind of euphoria of all-permissiveness, of disregard of commonly accepted norms and principles. And impermissible practices were placed into motion.

Here is one example. One report prepared by workers of the People's Control Committee states: "Owing to artificial inflation of the estimated cost of contracted work, the income received by the institute for scientific research exceeded expenditures by 506,000 rubles in 1988, making up a third of the overall cost of contracted work, and by 718,000 rubles in 1987. Just the cost of the 'Crystal' contract alone was inflated by 46,800 rubles."

Who, one would think, should be troubled by this besides the client? But the client is not complaining. Does this mean that everything is in order, that both sides have come to an agreement? But the money that both sides are manipulating is not their own but the state's, which is where the problem lies. And from this point of view, inflation of the cost of the work cannot be called anything but camouflaged false reporting and deceit.

They got away with this "innocent" naughtiness once or twice. And now they could put their scientific minds to work on things of greater scope. For example, how could financing be obtained for some types of work from both the budget and contracts? To the unenlightened, however, it seems that such redundancy should not occur. But in the Nuclear Physics Institute they hold a diametrically opposite opinion in their attempts to fill their plates from several tables at once. For example, plans have been made for a supplementary contracted project titled "Development of Nuclear Physics Instruments for Continuous Control of Production Processes in Cotton Fiber and Cellulose Processing" with an estimated cost of 247,000 rubles. And precisely the same work is planned for 1987-1990 on the basis of budget financing, except this time with a higher price tag—1,050,000 rubles. Moreover, here is an interesting detail: According to the calculations the economic impact should be 350,000 rubles—three times less than the amount to be spent on development. It may be that there are some

kind of higher scientific considerations at work here, but from the point of view of the ordinary man, this is an absurdity: What reasonable proprietor would spend more money than he intends to receive in profits? You can't last long that way.

We know that our state does not skimp when it allocates money to science; its annual allocations are huge. But it also demands an accounting: What is the money being used for? It appears that the Nuclear Physics Institute began to forget this truth; sometimes they do not even try to clarify for themselves what it is they have spent, and on what. What other explanation could there be for the fact that the report on the project "Multi-Element Neutron-Activation Method of Analysis of Rock and Ore," which according to the terms of the contract should have been submitted together with constructive, methodological recommendations and instructions, actually consists of but a single page of text? Who needs such recommendations? The client? Probably not.

There are examples from the history of science in which geniuses were able to attain an academic degree by simply coming up with a few formulas—but these were discoveries of worldwide significance, and they continued to be events prominent in the memory of mankind. But the report on this project in the Nuclear Physics Institute clearly does not belong in the company of such events. On the other hand it is fully possible to lump it together with the monuments to formalism.

But the client's position is also incomprehensible here: Why didn't he demand a full report? All of this suggests the notion that even if the project had been fulfilled, it was simply not needed by anyone—by either the institute or the client. And, as they would say in the "Wild West," the money came out of the taxpayer's pocket. But we pay taxes as well, after all, including for the maintenance of science. Such facts can attest only to incursion of formalism, indifference and the habit of impunity for all violations into the institute's work style.

Corrosion and rust eat away the most resistant materials, as we know, if decisive steps are not taken in time. The corrosion of all-permissiveness is the most dangerous of all. And so the institute begins to carry out assignments without technical assignments, issue recommendations on finished projects that are not recommendations at all, and write claims on inventions which do not promise any economic impact.

A commission of the People's Control Committee checked all 38 of the claims submitted for author's certificates, and not one of them contains a single word about the economic effectiveness of the inventions in the event of their introduction. Understandably, far from all scientific research may have immediate applied significance, and the return from some research that may be ahead of its time may not be seen for many long years, and possibly not at all. But are we to believe that all 38 claims are of this rank? We have our doubts.

All the more so because it has become known that a special design office of radiation equipment was established here to provide practical support to the institute's scientific research. But boredom has been setting in among its associates in recent years: The proportion of the institute's scientific projects submitted to the design office has steadily declined. In 1987, only 2 out of 15 completed developments were submitted to the design office, while in 1988 not one out of the seven projects was submitted. In order not to be totally unemployed, the designers began seeking assignments from the outside—from other organizations and other republics.

The tongue balks when it comes to calling such a situation normal. And how they can live with this in the institute is incomprehensible. If the solutions are beyond the reach of the management, the party organization should intervene; the trade union committee might also say its piece. But judging from everything, they are playing the role of casual observer. And this is in our times, when a clearly expressed civic position is especially necessary, when the degree of intolerance of shortcomings serves as an indicator of the attitude toward restructuring.

The scientific council should be monitoring the work of the institute collective, and telling its associates if they are on the right road or not; without its approval, not one basic project can be either initiated or terminated. But even in this area, the people's controllers persuaded themselves, indifference and disorder reign. The minutes of the scientific council are official documents, and the entire scientific life of any institute can usually be traced with them. Except here: The materials offered here often fail to correspond with decisions that have been made, and much of the paperwork consists of purely declarative resolutions. The scientific council of the Nuclear Physics Institute often simply goes through the motions when certifying scientists and evaluating scientific accountability reports.

There was the time for example when the laboratory of theoretical physics gave its accountability report. The reviewers and speakers at the council meeting made a number of very serious remarks concerning the report's grammatical failings, but ignoring these opinions, the members of the scientific council approved it unanimously. While in other scientific institutions passions boil over and opinions clash, in the Nuclear Physics Institute the principle of unanimity is downright inviolable. We find in those same minutes that the activities of 21 laboratories involving 65 budgeted and contracted projects were approved, once again, unanimously. It is difficult to imagine that all of this was discussed seriously by the council, with creative and proprietary interest—there was simply not enough time to do that. That means that they only went through the motions.

Owing to the inertia of past years, many things in the Nuclear Physics Institute are moving without direction. One of the most serious and constant problems in

science is personnel training. Each year in 1983- 1987 50-60 graduate students underwent graduate study in attendance and by correspondence. An impressive bunch of replacements, anyone would say. But the unfortunate thing is that only around two or four persons (8 percent (!)) of these dozens defended their dissertations on time—such is the efficiency of the training. The bulk of them graduated without defending a dissertation or even submitting an application to do so. Count it up: Tens of thousands of rubles have been cast to the winds. And there was, after all, someone who selected the candidates for graduate study, someone who recommended them, and someone who guided their training and their scientific research. Such is your system of personnel selection, education and training.

Moreover, where is there room for concern for preparing a full-fledged scientific replacement force if mismanagement is flourishing in all things in the institute—this is, after all, a meticulous process requiring effort, time and attention. We know for example how expensive equipment is for research, equipment that is often purchased abroad, for currency. And in the meantime the Nuclear Physics Institute is quite unperturbed by the fact that 97 units of this equipment do not even possess operating certificates, and operating logs have not been started on many of the instruments. Whether something is working or not is all the same here, no one seems to care.

And as a result, we read in the People's Control Committee's report, "an analyzer valued at 32,700 rubles has been dispossessed, and uninstalled scientific equipment worth a total of 41,300 rubles is lying around in the warehouse and in a number of laboratories." There is no one to care for it. And why worry about it when they contrive to inventory a laboratory located in Navoi without ever leaving the office. The main thing is for everything to be quiet and calm, without excessive noise. And when excesses and shortfalls are revealed among persons with sticky fingers, all of these kinds of things can be resolved amicably, by mutual agreement.

Here for example is how they decided to rid themselves of their YeS- family computer. There was a fire in the institute, and this most expensive computer suffered together with some other equipment. Someone would have to answer for this. But oh, the reluctance to spoil relations with someone. And so they came up with a simple solution: They quickly dismantled the computer, marked it down, and transferred it to the school they sponsor. What they would do there with such a giant, moreover one that doesn't work, no one can understand to this day. But everyone is happy in the institute: They did a "noble deed," and they wiped away all traces, so that there was now no reason to punish anyone.

There are a few incomprehensible details in this story. This computer, which was purchased in 1986, cost hundreds of thousands of rubles. After the fire in 1988, in accordance with an accompanying certificate it was deemed "worn out and obsolete," and its value was set at

half the original value. Now it could be written off, and unloaded at the school—the children wouldn't understand the financial dealings anyway, or highly intricate computers. It is in this way that they hide their carelessness behind the backs of children. Speaking of things growing obsolete we should obviously think about the wasting away of human morality: Is it really ethical to behave in this manner?

As long as universal indifference reigns in the institute, violations in financial activities are to be expected as well. And they did not delay in manifesting themselves. Because of the presence of an independent board for facilities under construction, an assistant director for capital construction, two senior engineers and one plain engineer have been maintained on the payroll since May 1986. Engineer M. Karabayeva carries out the responsibilities of timekeeper, though of course receiving much higher wages, while M. Rasulova, a decontamination specialist by position, actually performs the responsibilities of a storeroom clerk. E. Sabirova, who would not lower herself to work in the laboratory, is listed as a junior scientific associate and receives wages regularly. At the various facilities, extra pay is granted under no particular rules, and after that the wages are adjusted and bonuses are juggled in various ways.

But this is enough examples. The conclusion is clear, and it was made in the decision of the Uzbek SSR People's Control Committee. All that needs to be added is that interference by people's inspectors into the activities of the Nuclear Physics Institute is already beginning to produce positive changes. Thus steps were taken during the inspection to compensate for revealed deficits at the expense of specific culprits, surpluses of equipment and instruments valued at 18,700 rubles were documented, and four units of the administrative apparatus, maintained in parallel with an annual wage fund of 9,000 rubles, were reduced. People illegally maintained at the

enterprise subordinated to the institute were fired. All of this allows the hope that the period in which the institute existed as a unique sort of "zone of silence" has passed. And the collective, most of which is made up of honest scientists, should make the right conclusions.

It is important to understand that such violations cannot be tolerated even in a run-of-the-mill repair base. But in this case we are talking about one of the outposts of science in Uzbekistan. Who, if not the scientists, should apply maximum effort today in order to see that restructuring in the country would gather momentum and power with every day? But in the same way that it is impossible to do science with dirty hands, we cannot achieve revolutionary changes if they are brought about by untidy people, if we base our work on deceit, and on concealing rather than eliminating shortcomings.

The party organization could and should make the greatest contribution to cleaning up the Nuclear Physics Institute. First of all it must exercise its right to monitor the administration's activities. To communists, there cannot be any "forbidden" areas in either the sphere of the scientific activities of associates, or in the economic or financial activities of executives.

The institute's scientific council needs to utilize its powers and rights more clearly. It has the power to keep unauthorized people from making their way into science. To do this, every member of the scientific council must first of all increase his own responsibility for everything that is happening in the collective.

The trade union and Komsomol organizations can also do a great deal. And only after all efforts are united can we count on the institute regaining and strengthening its glory as one of the leading scientific research institutions of Uzbekistan.

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